[Shri Vishnu Bandhu Gupta]

would like to bring to the notice of the Government through you regarding extremely serious situation being created by the funding of Sikh extremists from U.K. They remit every week about Rs. 15 lakhs (£100,000). According to the press reports a mention has been made that the objective of this money is to train for assassination, to create chaos and situation of disharmony not only between Sikhs and Hindus but also between Hindus and Muslims.

Now, this is a very serious situation. I am wondering, what steps the Government of India is taking in this connection? The reports are continuing to come from England that they fund every week Rs. 15 lakhs by various means for training of these people here. Now, if this situation continues obviously a large number of people will try to destabilise our society. Therefore, I would like to draw the attention of the Government to this very serious situation and camps which have been established for training of these people for taking suitable action. Thank you.

REFERENCE TO THE REPORTED PERSECUTION OF MINORITIES AND SPURT IN ANTI-NATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR STATE—Contd.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, in fact, I wanted to talk after Mr. Advani.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI): It is not talking. It is only a Special Mention.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I am sorry. Madam, the situation in J & K State is full of tension. I have also given a Motion for a full discussion. Indeed the situation in J & K is very serious. As per the reports we are getting the situation is worst than what it was in 1947. I request the Union Government to take note of the situation there and take immediate steps for controlling the situation. I support my hon. colleague, Shri Lal K. Advani in his demand that the Government of J&K be dismissed, the State Assembly dissolved and the elections are held forthwith, not for the reason that the State Government has failed because that will become a precedent and give a handle to the Central Government to use against non-Congress-I Governments. The G. M. Shaw Government is an illegal, defector Government. We have been demanding its dismissal for a long time on that ground. We demand once again the dismissal of G. M. Shaw Government and holding of fresh elections as early as possible.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—Contd.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Shri Jaswant Singh will continue his speech on Motion of thanks on the President's Address.

श्री जसवन्त सिंह (राजस्थान) : महोदया मैं शिकायत नहीं करता, लेकिन राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर बहस के जवाब के लिए कम से कम एक कैबिनेट मंत्री तो होना चाहिए ।

संसदीय कार्य विभाग (राज्यसभा) में राज्य मंत्री (श्री सीताराम केसरी): कैबिनेट मंत्री आ रहे हैं ।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam Vice-Chairman, I rise to oppose the Motion of Thanks. Before I come to the substantial observations that I have to make on this Motion, I would, at the very outset, express a sense of grave irony with which I am assailed when I read this document which is called an Address by the President of India and the irony is

on account of the fact that it is this Government of India which has, in fact, contributed more to erosion of the status and the authority of the office of the President of India than any other previous Government in the history of Independent India. It is current knowledge now in the country that the relationship between the Prime Minister and the President has been strained to such an extent that for the last many months, the Prime Minister has not even fulfilled the routine courtesy, routine obligation of going and calling upon the President so that that obligation is fulfilled at least in appearance, if not in substance. It is also common knowledge that there are about 23 invitations that are pending, that ever since October 1984, the President has not travelled abroad. He has not travelled abroad not because he has not been invited but because the Government of India is not clearing the invitations for which the President ought to be well within his rights in undertaking those journeys. There has been no meeting with the Prime Minister. The affairs of State are being conducted with the President kept completely and totally in dark and it is on those grounds that I am assailed by a sense of irony that we should be here discussing an Adress by the President to the joint Session of the Parliament.

Madam, this Address to the Joint Session of the Parliament is an interpretation of the state of the nation and it is also the Government's articulation of its policy frame through the agency of which, it hopes to move forward in the year to come. The Mover of the Motion of Thanks went into the assassination and its consequences. He then undertook an evaluation of the achievements of the present Government internally. The Mover also spoke of the management of the nation's economics by the present Government, its handling of our external policy, the nation's security interests and the complex gamut of international relations in which we live. What he actually broadly did was to re-read the printed text of the President's Address and I was much disappointed with that. I had actually expected much from the President's Address. I find it uninspiring, a largely routine exercise, gone through routinely. The mover, whose intervention also we had waited for expectantly failed to move me. He failed to carry conviction precisely because he himself was not convinced about the great many things that he was obliged to put across. The Seconder of the resolution went into eulogies of the Prime Minister. For those of us who hav sat here and witnessed many such performances, it is with a sense of great unease that we listen to the transparent hypocracy with which the object of veneration is so readily and so easily switched by the treasury benches and by the ruling party. Up till yester years, it was late Smt. Indira Gandhi. Suddenly the present Prime Minister has become the sole repository of all virtues. It is a sickening exercise. And because it is a sickening exercise and patently hypocritical and hyperbole, the less time that we spend on it, the better.

Madam, let us examine the actual state of our nation as it exists today. Kashmir is aflame; Punjab is aflame and through the broad heartland, over the breast of the land, communal strife of a kind which we have not witnessed for years is afflicting the land and its people The state of the nation is characterised by uncase, by discontent, by turmoil and by uncertainty. Very briefly I would quote a comment on the President's Address:

> "In a wholly lacklustre address to Parliament by President Zail Singh, his reference to the upsurge of communal violence in various parts of the country deserves attention. It deserves attention not because the Government has said anything profound or new on the subject, but because the formulation is at once inane and wrong-headed beyond words."

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

I do not want to go into the comments which have characterised the Address as "banal", "naive" and "inane".

Much has been made about the achievements of Punjab and Assam settlements. I distinctly recollect we in the BJP having stood up in this very House and cautioning the Government, having expressed reservations about the Punjab accord, the manner of its singing, the method of its being brought about, the Prime Minister of the country signing the accord with the head of an avowedly religious party and exchanging documents as if international agreements were being signed. We had then expressed our reservations. We had cautioned the people when all around there was a thoughtless welcome to it. What is the state of Punjab today?

SHRI KALPNATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): With whom should he sign?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: We are back to square one. Punjab is back to square one.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: With whom should he sign?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI SAROJINI MAHISHI]: No interruptions, please. Let him speak.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The present state of Punjab is being described by thoughtful and thought-provoking Indians all over as being in some ways more disturbing, more alarming than the state in which Punjab found itself just before the Army had to intervene in the Golden Temple. There is yet another disturbing aspect of Punjab which we ought to reflect on deeply. There was a welcome feature of it. There was a lessening of tension. And you eroded it by premature calling of elections, about which also we had spoken. Another welcome feature of it was that a number of problems were to be determined by judicial tribunals. You failed to determine those problems by those judicial tribunals. It is our understanding that the Mathew Commission had in fact talked of the questionable means of enumeration as early as November, but the Government prevaricated, sat on the Mathew Commision, and did not give the Mathew Commission permission to go and actually do the enumeration uptil 10 days before the award was to be announced. Therefore, that which was to be determined by a judicial tribunal is now back into the political arena. And Punjab which had the appearance of having been settled is in political turmoil again.

I would like to reiterate just three aspects of the Assam settlement which we had, which I had on the floor of this House at that time, welcomed, I had been for the past five years associated with movement in Assam and in unequivocal terms we said that the Assam settlement was a proper and right step. Even at that stage I had said that there was a great necessity to follow it up so that the accord was more effectively implemented, and for so doing, we had recommended at least now to move forward for the institution of a national register of citizens, for the issuance of identity cards in all sensitive border States, for a permanent ban on transfer of reserve forest lands in Assam so that in the next 25 years both the reserve forests are preserved as also the illegal encroachments are stopped. There is no mention of any of that in the President's Address and it is my belief that until all this combined with a special census is not undertaken, the Assam settlement will also run into difficulties. We were given to understand, we were expecting, that in the first year of its office the present Government will do something to revive the institutional health, the health of the institutions of this nation which have been eroded for

the past so many years. My disappointment on this score is particularly highlighted not just by the devaluation or denigration of the office of the President of India but by the manner in which Governors are appointed, transferred and are removed. It is astounding that Governors of States should blatantly attend a jamboree held in Bombay at the end of the year. It was a Congress centenary jamboree...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, आप इनसे कहिये, ऐसा न बोलें ।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I would like to say something to my friends here about the Congress jamboree itself...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : कृपा करके आप इसको एक्सपंज कीजिए । इनको ऐसी बात नहीं बोलनी चाहिए । यह सदन के सीनियर मोस्ट मेम्बर हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI] First let us understand what a jamboree is. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Whatever the objections, the fact still remains that the attendance of Governors of the States of the Union in a function belonging to a political party is wholly unwarranted, wholly uncalled for and wholly unbecoming the status, the office and the role of a Governor...

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी (मध्य प्रदेश) : गवर्नर को कांग्रेस के सैशन में नहीं जाना चाहिए । करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करके अगर नहीं मनाया जाता तो जम्बोरी नहीं कहते ।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I would like here to quote briefly about this very function in Bombay and its ramifications. We have a great many differences with the Congress Party as it is after Partition.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: For information of the honourable Members, Secretary-General gives me the dictionary meaning of the word 'jamboree'. 'Jamboree' means celebration, merry-making, large rally of scouts and guides...

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY (West Bengal): It was not a merry-making. That is why it cannot be termed a jamboree.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI): I am just giving you the dictionary meaning of that.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : क्या यह सही है ? क्या इनको ऐसा बोलना चाहिए ? आप इसको एक्सपंज करा दीजिए ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Let him understand it the way in which he wants you to understand it. The Member is capable of using the word in a proper context. According to you it may not fit into the context.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: But the word jamboree is not suitable.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Many people are not capable of using suitable words.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am not going into the details of it. I am obliged to you for reading out the dictionary meaning of the word that I have used...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: You need not refer to that meaning. I would request you to dwell upon relevant things, important things.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I do wish to say that much as it may surprise my friends in the Treasury Benches in opposition to me, that the Congress before Partition was undoubtedly the instrument that won this country its independence. The centenary celebrations that you recently observed were not the celebrations of a political party alone. But they were the celebrations

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

with which we would have readily agreed to commit ourselves if you had converted it....(*Interruptions*).... into or made it into a national celebration. (*Interruptions*)

Madam, about the style of functioning of the Government, we have been given to understand that the party is predominant, that the party is supreme. I would like to leave a very brief thought with my friends on the Treasury Benches and it is this that a leader that denigrates, decries, or attempts to destroy the very institution to which he or she owes his or her existence cannot create other institutions afresh or impart strength to the existing ones and, in that context, a very brief quote from the celebrations in Bombay would be appropriate . . .

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : माननीय, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर इन बातों का क्या मतलब है?

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक (उत्तर प्रदेश): मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है . . . (*व्यवधान*)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा. (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी): इसमें क्या व्यवस्था का प्रश्न हो सकता है ?

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक : माननीय, यह गलत परम्परा चल रही है । अगर पार्टी के फंक्शनिंग पर यहां पर डिस्कशन होगा तो हम बी.जे.पी. और आर.एस.एस. के फंक्शनिंग पर भी डिसकशन करेंगे । इसलिए मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूं ।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : हम तो पूरी चर्चा करने के लिए तैयार हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI] I am requesting Jaswant Singhji to speak on important matters so that he can attract the attention of the Government.

SHRI THANGABAALU (Tamil Nadu): It is not his business to talk about the Congress (I) Party.

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी: यह इतनी शर्मनाक बात तो नहीं है जो आप आपत्ति कर रहे हैं ?

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : यह शर्मनाक नहीं है, हमें इस पर गौरव है ।

श्री देव प्रसाद राय : इनको यहां पर कांग्रेस सेशन पर नहीं बोलना है, राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण पर बोलना है ।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL SECURITY (SHRI ARUN NEHRU): Jaswant Singhji, you speak on the President's Address and not on the Congress address in Bombay.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It is because you people have obliterated the difference between the Government, the party and the person and because of the obliteration of these differences, Madam, when we speak of the Government, they immediately assume that it is a criticism of the party and when we speak of the party, they immediately assume that it is a criticism of the Government.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: No.

SHRI ARUN NEHRU: We would like to explain to him how the Congress (I) Party functions. But let him speak on the President's Address.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI: I am requesting him to dwell on more important matters.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH (Bihar): Exactly.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: We come to the style...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI I would request the honourable Members on this side not to interrupt Mr. Jaswant Singh so that he can conclude his speech.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Now, Madam, we come to the style and substance of this Government as contained in this Address as mentioned by the Mover of the Motion and the Seconder of the Motion, and the difference in the manner of its functioning and the matter which it actually.

comprises, and I would like to illustrate this with five or six points.

With regard to the style of functioning of this Government, the first thing that comes to my mind is an occurrence which takes place just last night and I categorise it by calling it "The Prime Minister and the Doordarshan". "The Prime Minister and the Doordarshan" has many ramifications. Now, a Minister of the Union Council of Ministers resigns and the Doordarshan does not find it necessary to carry it as a news, but it is carried by the All India Radio. It is carried by the All India Radio, but it is not carried by the Doordarshan ! We are informed by the Prime Minister that he is embarassed by the publicity that he is getting on the Doordarshan, that he has written to his own Minister of Information and Broadcasting to change all that and yet, Madam, we also know that within Doordarshan, those wretched poor officials of the Doordarshan say that this is a wholly inexplicable situation in which they receive instructions from the Prime Minister's Secretariat itself to say that they are not giving enough publicity to the Prime Minister. It is very...

SHRI SITARAM KESARI: Mr. Jaswant Singh, if you have got no agenda or if you have got no points to discuss, why are you discussing these things? Why are you deviating from the main point? In order to distract attention from.... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: I have a point of order. *(Interruptions)*

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : सरकार को क्या परेशानी है ?

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : मिनिस्टर के रेजिग्नेशन की न्यूज भी नहीं दी गई । **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक : जब कि श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण जिंदा थे तो हाउस में यह खबर दी गई थी कि जयप्रकाश जी का निधन हो गया है और हाउस भी एडजर्न हो गया । **(व्यवधान)** . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा. (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी : मैं माननीय सदस्यों से प्रार्थना करती हूं कि वे उन्हें कन्क्ल्यूड करने दें ।

(व्यवधान)

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: Let the hon. Member substantiate his statement while he has stated that an officer of the Prime Minister's Secretariat rang up the Doordarshan that enough publicity is not given to the Prime Minister. I have a point of order. He has to substantiate it. *(Interruptions)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: The concerned Minister will reply at the time of reply. I am requesting the hon. Member to conclude as far as possible.

SHRI ARUN NEHRU: We will explain to the hon. Member separately how the Congress party functions.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Let us talk about the Prime Minister and Bharat Darshan. Doordarshan annoys the members on the Treasury Benches. We have recently witnessed a new phenomena..... *(Interruptions)* It is about the manner and functioning of this Government; that the Prime Minister in the fashion and manner of a tourist descends in colourful pageant on tribal villages so that his acquaintanceship with India can be developed in this particular manner. *(Interruptions)*

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : जवाब दे रहे हैं ।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है कि सन 1977 से 80 के बीच में हिन्दुस्तान के मीडिया का जितना दुरुपयोग जनता सरकार और आदरणीय आडवाणी जी ने कहा

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

दुनिया के इतिहास में इसकी कोई मिसाल नहीं है । उस समय जिस तरह से चरित्र-हत्या, करेक्टर असिसनेशन हुआ . . . .

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी : क्या यह कोई प्वांइट आफ आर्डर है (व्यवधान) . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा. (श्रीमती) सरोजनी महिषी) : मिनिस्टर जवाब दे देंगे, उनको कन्वलूड करने दीजिये ।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: On the question of Bharat Darshan and Rajasthan.... (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: You have taken a lot of time already. I will request you to...

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I think that would be not fair to me, Madam. I have been interrupted at every sentence. You have interrupted me at every alternative sentence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Please continue.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Out of 27, 26 districts of Rajasthan are afflicted by drought, which is the worst possible drought that we could have faced in the past 70 years as an act of monumental, unbelievable insensitivity. The Prime Minister and his entourage decided to come to spend a holiday in Rajasthan, spending crores of rupees. Is this the style and manner of functioning of this Government? Everyone is free to have a holiday, including the Prime Ministers. The Prime Minister decides to spend holidays in Rajasthan. It is not for me... (*Interruptions*)... to have Rajasthan to be afflicted with the Prime Minister's visit. Crores of rupees have been spent (*Interruptions*)

I talk to you about the price rise, about President Rajiv and Prime Minister Rajiv. Prime Minister Rajiv announces price rise. President Rajiv, of the Congress Party, telephones Prime Minister Rajiv and says: reduce the price rise. Is this the functioning of a Government? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ARUN NEHRU: He is so much concerned about the Congress Party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: How are you concerned?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: In the last one year—this is the functioning of the Government—nine General Secretaries have changed, five Chief Ministers of various States have changed (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ANAND SHARMA (Himachal Pradesh): It is none of your business. You are nobody to interfere about the affairs of the Congress. You are forgetting that you are a member of the BJP, not the Congress. How can you interfere in the internal affairs of the Congress. You are talking as if you were the President and we should have your approval for everything. It is most unfortunate. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I am on my legs and you still continue? I am requesting the Member to talk on subjects connected with President's Address. I would request you also not to waste time of the House. Please.... (*Interuptions*) I am requesting the hon. Member also to utilise his time in a more fruitful way. Secondly, I would request the hon. Members on this side also not to insist on it. The information which he is giving may not be authentic. I do not say it is authentic. If he is giving some factual infoomation which may not be authentic, you may just correct it at the time of giving the reply. If you want him to say the same things which you say, then it is not proper. If he is wrong, the *Minister may correct* him. He may be wrong. You can correct him a tthe time of the reply of the Minister. I am asking him

not to speak the other things which are not very relevant to the President's Address. I may request him not to speak all those things.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह तो किसी सदस्य के स्वतन्त्र विचार को प्रकट करने पर प्रतिबन्ध के समान आपकी रूलिंग हो जाएगी । यह कैसे कहा जायेगा ? जो प्रधान मंत्री देश का है उसके किसी भी एक्शन को प्रधानमंत्री के नाते आलोचना करने का हक सभी को है । इसलिए अगर कोई पार्टी देश में इकोनोमी बरतने की बात करती हो और वह पार्टी सैकड़ों हजारों करोड़ रुपये इधर-उधर खर्च करे तो देश का पैसा बरबाद होता है । विरोधी दल को यह अधिकार है कि वह उसका विरोध करे । आपको इस डलिंग से स्वतन्त्र विचारों पर अंकुश लगेगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा. (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी) : स्वतन्त्र विचारों पर कोई रोक नहीं है (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : यदि कोई सदस्य किसी को डिस्टर्ब करता है तो उसको रोकने की जिम्मेदारी अध्यक्ष की है (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा. (श्रीमती) सरोजनी] महिषी] : मैं मेम्बर साहबान से प्रार्थना करती हूं कि जरा सहयोग दें इसको चलाने में और उन मैम्बर्ज को बोलने के लिए मौका भी दे दिया जाए । स्वतन्त्र विचारों को प्रकट करने में कोई रुकावट नहीं है लेकिन विचार थोड़े से पार्लियामेंट में जो बोले जा सकते हैं उस हिसाब से ठीक होने चाहिए । इसलिए मैं मैम्बर्ज से प्रार्थना करती हूं कि विषय से सम्बन्धित विचार ही बोलें । (व्यवधान)

श्री जसवंत सिंह : आप सीमा बांध दीजिए सम्बन्धित विचारों को ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा. (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी] : आप बोलिए । कितना टाइम इसमें ही निकल गया है ।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I hope that this 'sambandhit vichar' of the management of the economy by this Government...

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा. (श्रीमती) सरोजिनी महिषी] : मैं क्या करूं । आपको सम्बंधित विचारों पर ही बोलना चाहिए ।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will go into the management of the economy by this present Government very briefly because we are on the eve of the Budget and we shall have plenty of opportunity to speak about various economic and fiscal policies of the Government. I shall concentrate only on three aspects of it or two perhaps. One is about prices about which there has also been a separate debate and I do not wish to take whatever limited time is left to me now. About poverty and approach to the eradication of poverty by this present Government, I cannot help reflecting that the approach to the whole question of poverty is so separated from a real and true understanding of what Indian poverty is all about that I cannot but categorise it as Delhi drawing room chit chat, as a kind of superimposd Bharat Darshan, as a kind of visiting colourful tribal villages to see Indian poverty at first hand. The understanding, the approach to the elimination of poverty by this Government is as far removed, as far from comprehension as an aeroplane is from the planet earth. As far as the conduct of foreign policy of this Government is concerned in the past one year, it is a picture of immature, ill-thought, spur of the momentism.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Only you are saying that. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: The first three quarters of the first year of the tenure of this Government was spent in teravelling or getting acquainted by the chief architect of its foreign policy, the Prime Minister, to travel, to get acquainted, to get confused, to confuse all those who are around and...

SHRI SITARAM KESARI: You are confused. We are not. You are hundred per cent refused. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA (Haryana): The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is saying that . . . (*Interruptions*) .

SHRI SITARAM KESARI: He said that we are confused. That is why I am saying that he is himself confused. उन्होंने उन लोगों को भी कहा है, जो हम लोग नजदीक हैं, इसलिए हमने भी कहा।

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will illustrate the confusion. I will illustrate the confusion by just taking an example. We have discussed Sri Lanka before lunch. Just take the example of Pakistan. It is the same gentleman who is currently the Prime Minister of the country who expressed a sentiment that within one year Pakistan is going to attack India in the Chicken's Neck area. It is the same Prime Minister who made a statement that Pakistan is already in possession of two or three nuclear weapons. It is the same Prime Minister who has made a statement to say that we cannot sit quiet if they so have it. And in the same breath he said that we will under no circumstances nuclearise. It is the same Prime Minister who on a second return from the United States of America informed the press at the airport that, "President Reagan had told me in an aside that I had better quietly settle with Pakistan before a point of no return is reached." It is the same Prime Minister and the same Government which within months of that statement, that innuendo, that snide remark, goes and agrees here on the 6th of December, to "agree to reach an agreement" about not striking one another's nuclear installations, which for the first time in Pakistan's diplomatic history grants it a nuclear status on par with India. You talk about confusion, Mr. Minister. It is this Government which is not only confused but is also spreading confusion about our foreign policy. I shall not go, Madam, into all aspects of what is actually being talked about as a policy of good neighbourly relationship. Diplomatic failure stares us in the face as far as Indo-Pakistan relations are concerned because it was based on false premises. Diplomatic failure stares us in the face as far as Indo-Sri Lanka relations are concerned, about which I had an occasion just earlier to say. It is the same Prime Minister who mentioned that Indo-Sri Lankan relations have never been as good as they are today. It is the same Prime Minister who on return from Maldives says, "If they do not want our mediation, they should please tell us so." How naive, how absolutely ill-thought out, how absolutely unbecoming of the Prime Minister of this country. And you talk about confusion in diplomacy, you talk... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SITARAM KESARI: How can he say that it is unbecoming of the Prime Minister?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Why don't you tell the Minister? (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I am requesting the hon. Members on this side and also the Minister that if you continue to interrupt him like this, he will take more time, and I am requesting him to conclude.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: But he should use appropriate words.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI): I have resuested him to do that.

SHRI ANAND SHARMA: But he has not listened to our request. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Madam, I shall not go into the aspects of Sino-Indian relations. There were great expectations raised about the possibilities of Sino-Indian relations. We had sounded a note of caution even then that these expectatios are based on an illusion and said, do not persist with them because they will confound all of us if you persisted in an adhocy of that kind. It has come to nothing.

Now, Madam, a final word of caution on a matter of conduct of our diplomacy. Recently, on his return the hon. Minister of External Affairs found fit to inform the country that this country and its Government have won applause and recognition from

Shultz of the United States of America and, therefore, we are doing great many good things. I would like to caution, this Government that this illusion of closeness with the United States of America is a kiss of death and it is a kiss of death not merely on account of what we have recently witnessed in Haiti in the undignified evaluation of Duvalier or in what happened to Marcos in Philippine. It is very closely linked with the central reality of India. We might or might not be a poor country but the very core of our being has to be identified with the deprived of the world, with the poorest of the poor of the world, not only because India deifies '*daridranarayan*' but because India's very nature is with the poor. If we lose sight of that, we lose sight of true India. What do I find?. I find that the chief architect of country's policy is attempting to acquire monarchical roles, trout fishing with the King of Bhutan, private lunches with the Prince of Wales. They may be a part of the diplomatic functions. But it is a question of how those diplomatic functions are fulfilled.

Madam, I find a serious lack in this President's Address. Eevery President's Address spends considerable time in assessing, evaluating and giving the Government's response to the security threats that face the country; as the Government perceives them and as the Government then comes across with solutions to them. It is not my objection that Afghanistan finds no place in this address. It is not my objection that the Indian Ocean finds no place in it. It is my objection that the comprehensive aspect of what Afghanistan or the combination of super-power presence in the Indian Ocean or the continued difficulties with China must find a mention in the Presidential Address, otherwise it reflects a great lack by this Government. Threats that we continue to face from Pakistan are dismissed in a sentence as being limited only to the nuclear. I take great objection to that because the basic, fundamental threats that we face from Pakistan are not limited only to the nuclear. And I take serious objection, Madam, to yet another very great lack in this document, which is a statement by this Government of what intends to do in the coming year. We are currently witnessing and are faced with the most serious internal destabilisation that this country has witnessed in Jammu and Kashmir for a very long time. Simultaneously we are witnessing a serious political internal destabilisation in Punjab. A simultaneous destabilisation of these two sensitive border States is fraught with the greatest potential danger for the nation. Under such circumstances, it is an illusion of this Government to think that President Zia of Pakistan would talk to us. Under such circumstances it confounds me to find statements made by senior and significant officials of the Ministry of External Affairs upon their return from tavels abroad that a treaty for non-aggression is about to be signed. Within days of it, President Zia comes forward and says, treaty is yet far away. I take serious objection to the fact that this simultaneous destabilisation of sensitive border States like Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab and its ramifications on the country's internal security, of the threat perception that this Government perceives. find no mention in this.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I request you to conclude.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I would conclude now though I have many more things to say. I do not think it would serve the purpose that I want it to serve.

This Government and its Prime Minister started the first Year of their office with many pluses which would be the envy of most governments. There was an identification of this Government as being the one representing change. There was an identification of this Government with youth. There was an (*Interruption*)... identification

[Shri Jaswant Singh]

of this Government with modernity. Even then I had the occasion to mention that this identification is illusory because it is not based on substantive thought. The Government came into being by an unfortunate, by a grievous turn of history in the country's current political history. Because the birth of this Government is owed to this grievous turn of current political history, it brought into its goverance an absence of thought and an absence of reflection. The first year has been a year of charmed life. That year, Madam Vice-Chairman, is now over. I, in reasonable humility, not overriding humility, would put it across to the Treasury Benches, there are some very eminent men, capable men, that occupy the Teasury Benches and I put it to them; Grow up. See what is happening in the country. Don't pay any attention to...(Interruptios). By all means interrupt me; by all means barrack me, certainly as it is your right to barrack me. But what is happening in the country is not going to be stopped by your barracking. What is happening in the country is a reflection of an absence of your thought. The goverance of India is not a managerial problem. Recognise the diversity; recognise the complexity of this nation. It is not a fiefdom belonging to one family. Position of power makes you arrogant and arrogance arousing out of ignorant power is the worst form of tyranny.

SHRI DEBA PRASAD RAY: We do not require your wisdom.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It is with these words that I would caution the Government for the year to come for which they have charted out a non-programme.

Thank you.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अभिभाषण प्रस्तुत किया है उसमें हमारी सरकार की उपलब्धियों और आज के वर्तमान संदर्भ में हमारी सरकार ने क्या उपलब्धियां की हैं, हमारी सरकार क्या करना चाहती है एवं भविष्य में हम कैसे देश का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं, इन सब का जिक्र है । आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, आप जानती हैं कि सारी दुनिया में परिवर्तन का झंझावात चल रहा है और तेजी से बदलती हुई दुनिया में यदि हम अपने पैर को स्थिर नहीं रखें तो हम कभी भी कामयाब नहीं हो सकते । जब हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग सरकार के नीति वक्तव्य पर अपनी बात बोलते हैं तो उन्हें इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि आज की अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय स्थिति क्या है ? एक तरफ दुनिया में साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें, उपनिवेशवादी ताकतें, नव-औपनिवेशवादी ताकतें जो विकास-शील देशों को, नव स्वतंत्र देशों को चारों तरफ से नाकेबंदी और घेराबंदी कर रही हैं, इसमें हमारा हिन्दुस्तान देश भी है । आजादी के पहले हिन्दुस्तान क्या था और आजादी के बाद क्या है और आने वाले दिनों में हिन्दुस्तान क्या बनने वाला है, सोचें । आजादी की लड़ाई के पहले हमारे स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सैनानियों ने जिन उद्देश्यों को लेकर हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी था, उन्हीं उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति पिछले 38 सालों का हमारा सरकार का इतिहास रहा है । सबसे अधिक दुख की बात यह है कि आज हमारी सरकार की आलोचना वे लोग करते हैं, जो आजादी की लड़ाई के दुश्मन थे, आजादी की लड़ाई में अंग्रेजों के साथ थे, जो हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद नहीं होने देना चाहते थे । आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, किसे यह बात नहीं मालूम है कि सन् 1947 के पहले यह नंगा, भूखा, कंगाल हिन्दुस्तान था, यह चीथड़ों में लिपटा हुआ हिन्दुस्तान था । लेकिन पिछले 38 सालों में हमारी क्या उपलब्धियां रही हैं । वह सबके सामने है । आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया में छठवां एटोमिक पावर है, आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनियां में छठवां स्पेस पावर है, आज हिन्दुस्तान कृषि के मामले में एक आत्मनिर्भर हिन्दुस्तान है, आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनियां में आठवां इण्डस्ट्रियल पावर है, आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनियां में तीसरा टेक्नीकल नो-हाउ पावर है, आज हिन्दुस्तान पूरी तरह से मजबूत होकर मेजर पावर के रूप में विश्व-शान्ति का अग्रदूत होकर दुनियां के सामने

आया है । क्या इन बातों से कोई इंकार कर सकता है ।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, किसी भी राष्ट्र के बनने में 25 वर्ष, 50 वर्ष, 100 वर्ष कोई बड़ी चीज नहीं होती । आपको जानना चाहिए कि हमने आजादी के दौरान जिन मूल्यों की स्थापना की थी, वे मूल्य थे--हिन्दुस्तान में जनतंत्र की स्थापना, वे मूल्य थे--हिन्दुस्तान में धर्मनिरपेक्ष राष्ट्र की स्थापना, वे मूल्य थे--हिन्दुस्तान में समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना और वे मूल्य थे---हमारे मुल्क में राष्ट्रीयता का होना, इन चारों उद्देश्यों को लेकर हमारे राष्ट्र में हमने अपने इन मूल्यों की रक्षा की या नहीं? क्या पिछले 38 सालों में हिन्दुस्तान में लोकतंत्र का चिराग जला या नहीं या वह जल रहा है या नही ? यह एक बहुत बड़ा प्रश्न है । एशिया और अफ्रीका सैकड़ों मुल्क आजाद हुए, उन मुल्कों में लोकतंत्र आया, लेकिन उन मुल्कों में कभी प्रजातंत्र का चिराग जल न सका ।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, आज किस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान में साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें हमारी अखण्डता को समाप्त करना चाहती हैं किस तरह से हिन्द महासागर में जो महाशक्तियां हैं, वे अड़ंगे डाल रही हैं, किस तरह हिन्दुस्तान में चारों तरफ साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें नाकेबंदी कर रही हैं, किस तरह हिन्दुस्तान को डिस्टेब्लाइज करने के लिए आंतरिक विद्रोह, आंतरिक टकराव, आंतरिक तोड़-फोड़ की कोशिशें साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें कर रही हैं, किस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान पर पिछले 38 सालों में पांच विदेशी हमले किए गए साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों की साजिश से, सब को मालूम है । ऐसे दौर में हमारे नए नेता प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी जी ने राष्ट्र की जनता को आह्वान किया कि देश की एकता और अखण्डता की रक्षा के लिए आप हमारा साथ दीजिए । देश की ही नहीं, बल्कि विश्व की महान नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी राष्ट्र की एकता के सवाल पर बलिदान हो गयी । देश की एकता के सवाल पर उन्होंने अपने प्राणों को न्योछावर कर दिया और जिस समय उनको गोली लग रही थी बेअंत सिंह की, उस वक्त शायद इंदिरा गांधी जी के दिल में यही बात आ रही होगी--

"मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपस में बैर रखना,
हिन्दी हैं हम, वतन है हिन्दोस्तां हमारा ।"

जिस सवाल को लेकर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी का बलिदान हुआ, राष्ट्रीय एकता के प्रश्न पर, उसे आज भी तोड़ने की साम्राज्यवादी ताकतों द्वारा साजिश की जा रही है, खालिस्तान बनाने की साजिश कर रहे हैं । कौन नहीं जानता है कि दुनियां की अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय वे ताकतें, वे साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें, वे उपनिवेशवादी, वे नव-उपनिवेशवादी ताकतें चाहती हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान अपनी आजादी को बरकरार करके न रख सके और वही ताकतें हिन्दुस्तान पर कुछ देशों को हमला करने को उकसाती हैं और जब इसमें भी कामयाब नहीं होती तो जनघाती और राष्ट्रघाती ताक में इनसे उभड़ कर हिन्दुस्तान को तोड़ने की कोशिश करती है । खुशी है कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता इस बात को समझती है । यही कारण है कि भारत की बहादुरी जनता, गरीब होते हुए, प्रधान मंत्री के पीछे चट्टान की तरह खड़ी हो गई और राष्ट्र की एकता और अखंडता को बचाने का महान संकल्प किया । यह मामूली उपलब्धि नहीं है कि हम गरीब हैं लेकिन हम इस राष्ट्र को बचाना चाहते हैं । हम साम्राज्यवादी की साजिश को हिन्दुस्तान में कामयाब नहीं होने देंगे । हजारों वर्षों की गुलामी के खिलाफ आजादी की लड़ाई के सैनानियों ने संघर्ष किया । त्याग, तकलीफ और बलिदान के बाद 1947 में आजादी मिली । आजादी की लड़ाई के दौरान हमारे महान सेनानियों ने कराची कांग्रेस में, नागपुर कांग्रेस में, लखनऊ कांग्रेस में, बंबई कांग्रेस में '47 के पहले जो फैसले किए थे उन्हीं फैसलों को हमने अपने संविधान में मूर्त रूप दिया और उन्हीं फैसलों के अनुकूल महात्मा गांधी ने जवाहरलाल नेहरू को अपना राजनीतिक उत्तराधिकारी बनाया । जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीतिक, आर्थिक और सामाजिक दृष्टि से मजबूत बनाने के लिए इंडस्टियलिस्ट इन्फा-स्टाकचर की नींव डाली, आधुनिक हिन्दुस्तान की कल्पना की और उसमें जी-जान से लगे रहे । महात्मा गांधी ने आजाद हिन्दुस्तान का सपना देखा और आजाद हिन्दुस्तान हासिल किया । जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने आधुनिक भारत की कल्पना की और अपनी कल्पनाके अनुकूल

4 P.M.

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

कदम उठाए, आधुनिक राष्ट्र बनाने के इन्फ्रास्टक्चर की नींव डाली । श्रीमती गांधी ने शक्तिशाली, आधुनिक, विकसित, समाजवादी हिन्दुस्तान बनाने का संकल्प किया । उन्होंने अपने 17-18 वर्षों के कार्यकाल में समाजवादी उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति के लिए कदम उठाए और उसमें कामयाब रहीं । हमारे देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने फैसला किया कि हिन्दुस्तान को 21वीं शताब्दी में ले जाने का ऐसा हिन्दुस्तान जो दुनिया में ताकतवर राष्ट्र होगा ।

आज दुनिया में आणविक युद्ध के बादल छाए हुए हैं । आणविक हथियार या तो दुनिया को मिटा देंगे या हम उनको मिटा दें यह दुनिया के सामने सवाल है । हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई का उद्देश्य रहा विश्व-शान्ति, साम्राज्यवाद की समाप्ति, उपनिवेशवाद की समाप्ति, नवउपनिवेशवाद की समाप्ति, दुनिया के सारे देशों में आजादी, सारी दुनिया में सम्पन्नता और विकास । हमारे प्रधान मंत्री राजीव गांधी उसी दिशा में प्रयत्नशील हैं ।

हमारे मित्रों ने पूछा कि पिछले एक साल के अन्दर कौन सी उपलब्धि हुई । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान के राजनीतिक जीवन में स्वच्छता लाने के लिए क्या एन्टी डिफेक्शन बिल नहीं आया है ? क्या इससे बड़ा कोई दूसरा प्रयास हो सकता है ? जनता पार्टी ने अपने चुनाव घोषणापत्र में वादा किया था कि हम एन्टी डिफेक्शन बिल लाएंगे, हिन्दुस्तान के राजनीतिक जीवन में स्वच्छता लाएंगे, लेकिन बड़े बड़े महारथी जनता सरकार में रहे और एन्टी डिफेक्शन बिल नहीं बना सके । यह काम कांग्रेस नेतृत्व ने ही किया । हिन्दुस्तान के राजनीतिक जीवन में स्वच्छता-पवित्रता आए, कोई दल-बदल न हो सके, इसके लिए यह बहुत ही बड़ा क्रांतिकारी कदम है । डोनेशन पर प्रतिबन्ध हटा कर राजीव गांधी ने राजनीतिक जीवन में स्वच्छता लाने की कोशिश की । कम्पनी डोनेशन सभी पार्टियों को मिल सकता है । कोई कम्पनी किसी पार्टी को डोनेशन देना चाहे तो वह दे सकती है । यह राजनीतिक जीवन में पवित्रता लाने की दिशा में कदम है । आप उस को मानें या न मानें । आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूं कि जो चुनौतियां हैं भारत को विकासशील देश बनाने के लिये वह चुनौतियां कैसे पूरी होंगी, यह सवाल आप के सामने है । आज देश के विरोधी दल के लोगों ने इन चुनौतियों के सामने जो आज देश में तालाबन्दी, हड़ताल और सत्याग्रह की नीति का वातावरण बना रखा है, मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या किसी विकासशील देश में इस तरह की टकराव की नीति उस देश में समाजवाद और लोकतंत्र को ला सकती है? क्या टकराव की राजनीति लोकतंत्र को बचा सकती है ? यह कंपल्शन्स आफ बैकवर्ड इकोनामी का सवाल नहीं है । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान की सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना को पूरा करने के लिये हमें रिसोर्सेज जुटाना है । हमको उसके लिये साधन इकट्ठा करना है । विरोधी दल के नेताओं को चाहिए था कि अगर हमारी सरकार ने टैक्स लगाये हैं तो वे कहते कि सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का मसविदा हम पेश कर रहे हैं और उस के लिये आप इस रास्ते से हिन्दुस्तान में साधन जुटाइये । 180 हजार करोड़ रुपया जो सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिये चाहिए उस के लिये हमारा यह मसविदा है और इस तरह से उस के लिये आप संसाधन जुटाइये । अगर राजीव गांधी जी आप की बात नहीं मानते तो आप प्रदर्शन करते, आप हड़ताल करते, आप भारत बन्द करते, आप दिल्ली बंद करते। लेकिन आप के पास कोई विकल्प नहीं है । आप के पास कोई सातवीं योजना का मसविदा नहीं है, आप के पास कोई नीति और कोई कार्यक्रम नहीं है इस लिए भारत की जनता को गुमराह करने के लिये आप केवल टकराहट की नीति का सहारा ले रहे हैं । इस से देश नहीं बनता । आप की यह नीति जनघाती और राष्ट्रघाती है । मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूं कि जनता सरकार सत्ता में आयी और 1977 में बड़े लम्बे चौड़े वायदों के साथ आप आये लेकिन आप एक भी पंचवर्षीय योजना नहीं बना सके । (व्यवधान) किसी देश का निर्माण करने के लिये कुछ करना होता है ।

Either dynamize the economy of the country or get your self dynamited.

सवाल यह है कि राष्ट्र को विकसित करो या सदा के लिये अंधेरे में मिट जाओ । कभी

कभी राष्ट्र को बनाने के लिये कड़े कदम उठाने पड़ते हैं। हमारी साम्यवादी पार्टी के लोगों ने आलोचना की है। मैं चाहता हूं कि साम्यवादी पार्टी के लोग इस का अल्टरनेटिव क्या होगा इसको बताने के लिये अपना मसविदा पेश करें। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या भारतीय जनता पार्टी, क्या जनता पार्टी और क्या यह दूसरी पार्टियां एक साथ चल सकती हैं? क्या उन में कभी नीतियों का सामंजस्य हो सकता है? क्या कभी वे एक आर्थिक कार्यक्रम राष्ट्र को दे सकती हैं या क्या कभी मुल्क को वे कोई एक अल्टरनेटिव दे सकती हैं या कोई कार्यक्रम दे सकती हैं? नहीं दे सकती तो हिन्दुस्तान में टकराहट की राजनीति पैदा करने की जरूरत क्या है? तो राष्ट्र की राष्ट्रीयता को नष्ट करने की जरूरत क्या है? आज मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि राजीव गांधी ने भारत का प्रधान मंत्री बनने के बाद हिन्दुस्तान के विरोधी दल के नेताओं से मेल मिलाप का, मिलजुल कर एक रास्ता अपनाया कि हम मिलजुल कर भारत की समस्याओं को हल करेंगे, हम मिलजुल कर भारत की समस्याओं का हल ढूंढेंगे, लेकिन आप लोग जानबूझ कर उस प्रधान मंत्री की मीटिंग्स के साथ न जा कर टकराहट की राजनीति में रहे हैं और मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूं कि अगर किसी विकासशील देश में टकराहट की राजनीति होगी तो उस का परिणाम भयंकर होगा। वहां न लोकतंत्र होगा, न समाजवाद होगा, न धर्मनिरपेक्ष राज्य होगा और न राष्ट्रीयता होगी। हम ने अपने संविधान में, अपने एलेक्शन मैनिफेस्टों में कहा है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान को लोकतांत्रिक राष्ट्र बनायेंगे, भारत को समाजवादी और धर्मनिरपेक्ष राज्य बनायेंगे। राष्ट्रपति ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि हमें जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण स्थापित करने के लिए एक ठोस और समयबद्ध कदम उठाना चाहिए। जनसंख्या के सवाल पर मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जब तक हिन्दुस्तान में जनसंहार रूपी दानव को कंट्रोल नहीं किया जायगा तब तक विकास का शिशु विकसित नहीं हो सकता। विकास के शिशु को पुष्पित, पल्लवित होते देखना चाहते हैं तो हिन्दुस्तान के सभी दलों को राष्ट्रीय मतलब के आधार पर जनसंख्या को कंट्रोल करने के कार्य को युद्ध स्तर पर आगे बढाना चाहिए। इस मुल्क में यह प्रयास किया था श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने, जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण करने का, लेकिन आपने उस जनसंख्या नियंत्रण को अपना चुनाव का मुद्दा बनाया, आपने नसबंदी की झूठी कहानियां कह कर 1977 में सत्ता पर अधिकार कर लिया और सारे वंश का सर्वनाश हो गया। आपके सत्ता में आने पर, हिन्दुस्तान की इकानामी नष्ट हुई। आपके बारे में हिन्दुस्तान की अंतराष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में स्थिति गिरी। आप हिन्दुस्तान की तस्वीर को दुनियां के सामने अच्छे रूप में पेश नहीं कर सके।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आज देश की स्थिति नाजुक है। चुनौतियां बड़ी हैं, चुनौतियां विद्यमान हैं। एक तरफ देश को तोड़ने वाली ताकतें राष्ट्र के अन्दर षड्यंत्र कर रही हैं, दूसरी तरफ अंतर्राष्ट्रीय साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें, जिन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान को गुलाम बनाया था, वे साम्राज्यवादी ताकतें, उपनिवेशवादी ताकतें, नव-उपनिवेशवादी ताकतें, विकसित दुनियां के देश आज हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी का गला घोटना चाहते हैं। एक तरफ देश की आजादी को बचाने के लिए काम करना है, दूसरी तरफ हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को बचाकर आर्थिक दृष्टि से भारत को शक्तिशाली बनाना है। यह कैसे संभव होगा? कैसे हिन्दुस्तान एक शक्तिशाली देश बनेगा? जब हम 7वीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के माध्यम से भारत की जनता को ऊंचा उठाना चाहते हैं, तो सब लोग एक होकर राष्ट्र को बनाने के लिए राष्ट्र को शक्तिशाली बनाने के लिए, दुनियां में विश्व शान्ति को बनाए रखने के लिए, भारत को 21वीं सदी में ले जाने के लिए, हमें अपने मुल्क की 7वीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए साधन मुहैया करने के लिए कष्ट उठाना है। किसी राष्ट्र का निर्माण तब होता है जब देश के लोग कष्ट उठाते हैं। मुल्क की आजादी के लिए लोग फांसी के तख्ते पर लटक गए, लाखों लोग जेल गए। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जो लोग फांसी पर चढ़े, वे मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट नहीं बने। जिन लोगों ने गोलियां खाईं वे मिनिस्टर नहीं हैं। उनको एम.पी. बनने का भी अवसर नहीं मिला। किसी तरह से आज नई जनरेशन को, नई पीढ़ी को देश को शक्तिशाली बनाने के लिए, नये भारत को

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

ताकतवर बनाने के लिए, आज की पीढ़ी को कष्ट उठाना है। आज की पीढ़ी को थोड़ा ज्यादा बोझा अपने कंधों पर उठाना होगा, आज की पीढ़ी को नये नेतृत्व को मजबूत बनाना है। आइए, आपको अवसर मिला है इस राष्ट्र को मजबूत बनाने के लिए, दुनिया में भारत को शक्तिशाली बनाने के लिए, दुनियां में शान्ति को बनाए रखने के लिए दुनियां के अन्दर आणविक हथियारों की होड़ को मिटाने के लिए, दुनिया में जो अरबों, खरबों और महाशंख रुपया खर्च हो रहा है आणविक हथियार के लिए, न्यूक्लियर बमों के निर्माण के लिए, हम अपने नेतृत्व को शक्तिशाली बनायें और राजीव गांधी के हाथ मजबूत करें ताकि वे महात्मा गांधी के सपनों को, जवाहरलाल नेहरू के सपनों को नया रूप दे सके। दुनिया के अन्दर गरीबी हटाने के सवाल पर विचार करें। गुरवचोव और रीगन को हम मजबूर कर सकें कि गरीबी मिटाने के सवाल पर वह मास्को और वाशिंगटन में बैठें। इसलिए आज सवाल है कि या तो दुनिया से हथियार मिटा दो या हथियार दुनिया को मिटा देंगे। दुनिया में शान्ति कायम रखने के लिए हिन्दुस्तान को शक्तिशाली बनाना है। हिन्दुस्तान शक्तिशाली देश तब बनेगा जब हिन्दुस्तान की 70 करोड़ जनता इकट्ठा होकर, कंधे से कंधा मिलाकर, दिल में आजादी के तूफान को लेकर आंखों में भविष्य का सपना लेकर राजीव गांधी के हाथों को मजबूत करें, उनकी सरकार की उपलब्धियों को स्वीकार करते हुए नई चुनौती को स्वीकार करें। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूं और राष्ट्रपति के अभिभाषण के धन्यवाद प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूं।

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Madam Vice-Chairman, I have gone through this document, the Presidential Address, and I cannot support it for the main reason that this document does not recount, does not record, even a single act of failure of the Government during the past one year. This document does not talk of any tangible plan by which this country can be made stronger, economically stable and by which miseries and troubles of the people can be obviated in the next year. There is no programme. It is a general document. It talks sometimes somewhere in eloquent and in very general terms but spells out no particular method by which this country can get itself rid of the complex problems with which it is faced.

It talked of the success of the Government in the last year and the success of the Punjab Accord. They say the Punjab situation has been amicably solved as a result of the Accord. When the Accord was signed, when information about the Accord was given in Parliament, I said at that time even: What is this Accord—an Accord signed between the Prime Minister and representatives of one political party in a State and an accord over the rights and interests of a neighbouring State, which has not even been consulted or even asked to give its views on it. What is this Accord? Here neither the Government of Punjab, nor the Government of Haryana, nor the affected Goverment of Rajasthan were brought on the negotiating table and the Accord was signed without understanding the implications of that Accord, though at that time we welcomed that a spirit and feeling and atmosphere of cordiality that will prevail in the State, so we welcomed it only to that extent. But to the extent that Clauses 7 and 9 went against the interests of the State of Haryana and those States were sought to be sacrificed at the altar of the Akali and extremists' agitation, I would say it is most shameful. Yet with all the praise being showered on the Accord we find today when this Accord is to be implemented that the Government itself is powerless. It itself feels that the Accord cannot be implemented.

In Clause 7 of the Accord they said that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab. In lieu of Chandigarh, Hindi-speaking areas will be given to Haryana. It is most surprising. The Shah Commission went into this matter in detail. After a judicial scruti-

ny of the matter, it finally decided that Chandigarh is a Hindi-speaking area and it must go to Haryana. The Shah Commission also came to the conclusion that Abohar and Fazilka and areas of Ferozpur district are absolutely and completely Hindi-speaking areas. There was nothing in common with Punjab. Culturally they are akin to Haryana and they should be transferred to Haryana. But one particular village, Kandukhera, blocked the contiguity of that area with Haryana. Therefore, the Shah Commission found unable to give that to Haryana. But Chandigarh was given to Haryana. Consequently what happened was that the pressure was mounted on the Central Government. Sant Fateh Singh went on fast unto death and there was a threat of self-immolation. There was an effort all around to save his precious life. Everybody wanted to save his precious life. We also came into the picture. We also did not want that over this issue Sant Fateh Singh should lose his life. Therefore, at that stage we agreed to hand over Chandigarh to Punjab; but in lieu of giving of Chandigarh to Punjab we said at least that area over which the Shah Commission had come to the conclusion that it was a Hindi-speaking area and culturally whose affinity was with Haryana—Fazilka and Abohar—should be handed over to us. Then the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi came to this conclusion that to save the life of Sant Fateh Singh, Chandigarh should be handed over to Punjab, but the areas of Fazilka and Abohar should be given to Haryana.

Now when the Accord was signed and in Clause 7 the names of Fazilka and Abohar were not mentioned. I do not know how could an Accord be reached without even consulting the concerned States. If some areas had to be given to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh which finds mention in the Accord, then why should not the State of Haryana, the Opposition leaders of Haryana, those people who are vouchsafing the interests of Haryana, have been consulted at that time. No, it was not done. Therefore, we said at that time that the reference of this Accord on the territorial issue being referred to the Mathew Commission is a totally useless reference, because Mathew Commission's hands have been completely bound and it cannot give award.

This is what happened Mathew Commision also came to the conclusion that Abohar and Fazilka are the Hindi-speaking areas. Its transfer to Haryana is blocked. Here the conscience pricks. The Mathew Commission could have said that Abohar and Fazilka cannot be given to Haryana. The whole area of 85 villages and 107 villages with two major towns can be blocked by one single village with a population of 1500 people. This cannot be understood at all. Is there any sense in it? If one village cannot go to Haryana because it is linguistically different, how can a group of 107 villages be given to Punjab when it is linguistically different to Punjab also. I really could not understand the reason behind it. The Mathew Commission has left it to the Central Government to evolve a method by which these areas are given to Haryana. But yet it is dilly-dallying. They said that discussions are going on. But so far there is no such turn given to it. They said that a new Commission will be appointed. What this new Commission will do? The new Commission will do the same thing as the Mathew Commission has done. Unless the terms of reference of the Commission are altered and the representatives of people of Haryana as well as the representatives of Punjab sit together what is just and what is not just, no solution can be found. This is only the way to find an amicable settlement. Another gimmickry has been played with this accord. They say the users of water by a part of Rajasthan, Punjab and Haryana farmers shall be protected upto 1985 and the remaining portion of waters will be apportioned between the two States of Punjab and Haryana. Again it is a very, very funny story. Once the user is determined and if it is

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found there is remaining water only then there can be reapportionment. Our contention is that as on 1-7-1985 if the user is taken then the user by Punjab is much more than ever. It was definitely in its favour. The user in favour of Punjab is more than 6.2 MAF of water. If the user is small because of non-construction of SYL canal then there is no difficulty at all in taking this into account. Why the second Commission is being appointed? It cannot be understood. It is just a gimmickery trying to play with the sentiments of the people of Haryana and depriving them of their rightful share. If water is not given to us and Rajasthan, who is going to suffer? The people of these States are going to suffer and the country is going to suffer. There should be a fair distribution of the resources by the Centre to the States concerned so that the farmers of these States can derive benefit. But this has not been done. This accord was signed in haste probably out of fear and under pressure, I do not know. Today for the first time I heard the statement by the Honourable Home Minister that there is no difficulty in coming to a settlement. He said that the Centre is trying to consult the State of Punjab and Haryana to evolve a method by which an amicable settlement can be reached. You are thinking of consulting the people of Haryana now. Why you could not consult earlier when this accord was signed? What was the difficulty? What was the hurry behind it? Why were the people of Haryana ignored and neglected? This sort of injustice is being made.

They are talking lot about the Assam accord. What has happened to the Assam accord? They say this accord had to be reached at this stage. But this could have been reached five years back. In the Assam accord there is a mention that people living in Assam and who have migrated from Bangladesh after 1971 to till today will be expelled from Assam. This is one of the clauses of the Assam accord. I really failed to understand this particular clause. There are more than 15 lakh people in Assam who have come after 1971. You do not want to give them rights and you want to expel them away. You want to put them on a ship to enable them to go to Nepal, China and Bangladesh. But Bangladesh is not prepared to accept even a single soul from this country. What is that accord? It has no meaning. If these shifted to some meaning. If these people shifted to some other States then they will create troubles elsewhere. I think this is another thoughtless action and exercise by this Government. The problem now continued to a particular State will be concerning the whole of the country. This document does not show us how the Assam Accord is going to be completed, how these people who have come into Assam numbering about 15 lakhs from 1971 upto 2-9-86, are going to be turned out? Where are they going to be turned out? What is going to happen to them? Nothing. Even after so many days after signing of the agreement, nothing is going to happen. So, the conditions in Punjab, the condition in Assam result of these accords are uncertain and we have laid the basis for an unending dispute. The dispute which can never find a solution. Our whole theory is wrong. At the spur of the moment, out of great nervousness, a document is signed and signed in the manner as if some very big treaty between two countries is being arrived at and that the substance of that treaty, that document if really understood in its true perspective is practically zero. It is a retrogr de step rather than a step toward a solution of the problem.

Now, let us see this policy of the present Government in de-escalating elected Governments. As we find in Kashmir today, the present Shah Government in Jammu and Kashmir, is a Government entirely composed of defectors and propped up and sup-

ported by the Congress(I) party and what this Government has done. It has done nothing to defuse the situation over there. The demand has been ever through that there should be genuine elections in Jammu and Kashmir so that a representative Government of the people comes into power but this request has never been acceded to. What we find today is that this Shah Government in Jammu and Kashmir today is in league with the Jamait-e-Islami party. This party is responsible for the loot, the arson, the murder, the rape in Jammu and Kashmir. Even after 1947, when there was a Pakistani war with India on Kashmir, we never experienced communal trouble in Jammu and Kashmir proper. For the first time, we find that the communal animosity has percolated down to the village level and has made the lives of the Kashmiries and the people of the Jammu region a hell. This is complete harassment. This Government is unable to protect them and as was rightly pointed out by Mr. Advani in his special mention today that even the Governor have made a report. (*Time bell rings*) Madam I have not even started.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Please try to conclude. Take three minutes more. You have spoken for 12 minutes.

SHRI SUSHIL CHAND MOHUNTA: Madam, I have to cover so many points. At least, one political party should be given that much time. Then I would be able to complete it.

Now the question is after the Governor having made a report about the deeds of Government over there and that report has not yet been considered and no action is being taken. Then what do we do? Nothing. This is to destabilise the whole situation. Communal politic is being built up. What do we find in Uttar Pradesh ? There the communal frenzy is now gathering storm over there over a small incident. Nobody has been able to take any steps to curb it. The Muslims and the Hindus in UP have very very cordial life and now over a small incident, the whole situation has taken a very ugly turn. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, the situation is such that you look at this from any angle, from law and order point of view, from the economic development point of view, the situation is more or less the same. What have you done about the unemployed people? Now, what have we done for those who are below the poverty-line? The number of people below the poverty-line has increased. Thirty-eight years after independence, we still find people who are without a roof over their heads. We still find people who cannot get two meals a day. We still find people who cannot get jobs. What is the national economic policy? The prices have escalated. Whom are they going to affect? The escalation of prices is not going to affect those who live in five-star hotels. It is going to hit that man who is not earning more than Rs.400 or Rs.500 or Rs.700 per month. He is the person who is going to be affected. The railway fares have been increased. Whom is it going to affect? Thsy say that they have not touched the second class passenger fares. But who travels by passenger trains these days? People travel only in mail and express trains. We are not going back to the bullock-cart age that we want to travel slower and slower. What we find is that economically we are rendering the people of this country in a more difficult position. It will be difficult for them even to subsist. The petroleum prices have been increased.

And what about the farmer? What have we done for the farmer? We have tried to give them a little bit of consolation by saying that the price paid to them will be increased by Rs.5 per quintal. We are giving only Rs. 5 more to the farmer while the prices for the consumer has been raised

[Shri Sushil Chand Mohunta]

by Rs.48. After all, what are we playing with? Eighty per cent of the people of this country live in villages and 75 per cent of the people live on farms. We have increased the fertiliser price. We have increased the diesel price. I have calculated—I am myself a farmer—that for every quintal that a farmer produces, he loses Rs.12 instead of gaining Rs.5.

Now I want to say a little about our foreign policy. That is most important. Our hon. Prime Minister went on jaunts abroad. Good. The Prime Minister should go and should be acquainted with things. He was accorded a reception which normally should be accorded to any Head of State or any Prime Minister of a country. And the Prime Minister of a big country like ours must be accorded regal reception anywhere that he goes. To that extent I feel satisfied. But what have we achieved? What have we gained during his visit to the USA? I would just make four points. The first is about the Indian Ocean being a hotbed of super power rivalry. We have not been able to convince the United States of America that the Indian Ocean should be free and they should withdraw from the Indian Ocean. The second is about their supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan. We are the only country who are affected by it. We have not been able to convince the United States of America that supply of sophisticated weapons to Pakistan is an act directed against India, and so they should stop it. We have not been successful on that point. Then we have not been able to make America dissuade Pakistan from going nuclear. After all, America is giving so much of arms and ammunition and assistance to Pakistan that it can apply pressure upon Pakistan to make it desist from going nuclear. We have not been able to do it. Our relations with Pakistan were never better. It has been said that we are at a point where we can sign a no-war pact with Pakistan. I am not able to understand the treaty which was talked about some months back, that we will not raid their nuclear complexes and they will not raid our nuclear complexes. This treaty is for whose benefit? It shows that Pakistan is going nuclear and it is afraid that India may bomb its nuclear complexes. If they go nuclear it is likely to damage our security and it is going to be a risk to this country. We say, all right, we are not going to raid your nuclear complexes, thus recognising that Pakistan is going nuclear. What are we doing? We say one thing, plan another thing and do another thing, and ultimately we reach where?

Therefore, this document cannot be supported in any manner. Just two more points, Madam. I will just mention them; I will not dilate on them. Last time the President said in his address that there would be electoral reforms in the country. This time there was no mention even of electoral reforms. We know the way elections in the recent past have been rigged at various places. There were a lot of complaints. And what about the high spending? Who is honest? It was said by the Anna DMK leader here: How is it ever possible? Everybody gives a false return. How is it ever possible that a person would be contesting an election to Parliament by spending only that much amount of money stipulated in the Representation of the People Act? Therefore, the electoral system should be reformed so that every person who enters the arena has a security of contesting an election, of approaching the people properly and also avoiding any sort of rigging. What have you done for that? The Election Commission is manned by a person; Supreme Court Judges are persons; High Court Judges are persons. They should be kept above everything and there should be no sort of inducements given to these people. But what do we find? After retirement from the office of Chief Election Commissioner the person has been awarded a Governor's post. If this is the way in which inducements are given, can anybody say that the Chief Election Commissioner can ever remain neutral? Everybody would aspire that after retirement he should be accommodated in some gubernatorial office. This is not the way democracies are run. I do understand they enjoy a huge mandate of the people. But that mandate that they have got cannot enure them. They have already lost the

votes in the bye-elections in this country; they have lost miserably and if a poll is taken today, they will find how this mandate which they have got has been eroded. But the unfortunate thing is that there is no method in this country by which a mid-term opinion can be taken of the popularity of the Government. (*time-bell rings*)

In the end I would only say if this Government continues with the direction less spree in which it is going about, in foreign affairs, domestic affairs, law and order, economic front, employment opportunities to people, there is no question of having a leap forward, there is no question of going ahead. We are moving backward and I want to record this note of warning to the Government that they must be honest, they try to clean the public life. They cannot have a clean public life by having corrupt Chief Ministers everywhere. If they want a clean public life, why has no action been taken against known corrupt people? (*time-bell rings*) If you want the people to believe that this Government is for a clean public life, if you mean to really do good to the people, then you must be fair, you must be equitable, you must heed the voice of warning which comes from time to time from Opposition parties, you must not mean that just because we are Opposition parties we have anything against the administration or that we are anti-national; rather, Opposition parties are probably more patriotic than what the ruling party is.

श्रीमती प्रतिभा देवीसिंह पाटिल (महाराष्ट्र) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, सम्माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण पर समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूं । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, राष्ट्रपति जी ने देश की हालत पिछले वर्ष क्या थी और उसका समाधान कैसे निकाला गया यह सर्वप्रथम अपने अभिभाषण में बताया है । इसके अलावा और भी चार विषयों की चर्चा उन्होंने अपने भाषण में की है । 1985 में जो प्रमुख कार्यक्रमों की रूपरेखा पेश की गयी थी जिसमें 10 प्रमुख कार्यक्रम थे तो इनको बहुत हद तक पूरा कर दिया गया है । 1985 में आर्थिक क्षेत्र में जो नीतियां अपनायी गयी उनके फलस्वरूप क्या परिणाम निकले यह भी उन्होंने बताया है । हमारे देश की विदेश नीति की चर्चा भी उन्होंने अपने अभिभाषण में की है और 1986-87 में अपनाए जाने वाले प्राथमिकताओं के जो क्षेत्र हैं वे भी उन्होंने संक्षेप में बतलाए हैं । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, एक साल के कार्यकाल में इतने सारे कार्यक्रम हाथ में लेकर उन्हें सफलतापूर्वक आगे बढ़ाने का काम करना यह कोई आसान बात नहीं है । आज जीवन के हर पहलू को छू जाने वाले काफी कार्यक्रम हम देख रहे हैं जो कि पिछले एक साल में शुरू किये गये हैं और काफी कार्यक्रम हैं जिनमें कार्यवाही भी की गई है ।

मैं आपको उदाहरण दूं कि न्याय की व्यवस्था में सुधार किया गया है, नई राष्ट्रीय शैक्षणिक प्रणाली और इसका अभियान चलाया गया है । सामाजिक दृष्टि से जो कार्यक्रम हैं, उनमें महिलाओं और बालकों को विशेष ध्यान दिया गया है ।

सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में भी बढ़ावा दिया गया है । सांस्कृतिक विकास के लिए और विज्ञान और तकनीक, इनकी रफ्तार और ज्यादा तेज बढ़ाने की कोशिश होने जा रही है और हो रही है ।

आर्थिक नीति के फलस्वरूप जो परिणाम निकले हैं, वह संक्षेप में जो बताये गये हैं, वह सिर्फ मैं आपके समक्ष उनके बारे में कहना चाहूंगी, बताऊंगी कि 1985-86 के पहले सात महीनों में उद्योग उत्पादन 6.3 प्रतिशत बढ़ा ।

सरकार की नीति के कारण पूंजीनिवेश का उत्साहवर्धक वातावरण तैयार हुआ । पिछले साल के महीनों की अगर तुलना की जाए, तो बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ा है, बिक्री योग्य जो इस्पात है, उसका उत्पादन 12.9 प्रतिशत बढ़ा है, उर्वरक का उत्पादन बढ़ा है और हमारी बंदरगाहों में 13.2 प्रतिशत अधिक माल लादा-उतारा गया है और रेलवे ने माल ढोने का एक नया रेकार्ड कायम किया है ।

अभी यहां जो चर्चा हमारे आनरेबल मेम्बर, अभी वह यहां नहीं हैं, उन्होंने की कि जो राजनीतिक हमारे यहां मसला, हमारे देश में निर्माण हुआ था, जिसको लेकर पंजाब का अकार्ड हुआ और असम का अकार्ड

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा देवीसिंह पाटिल]

हुआ, उसके बारे में उन्होंने कुछ बातें बताईं और उसमें पंजाब के अकार्ड में कुछ बातों उन्होंने बताईं कि उसमें कोई रूकावट आ रही है और असम के अकार्ड के बारे में कहा कि उसका कोई कालम नं0 7 है, वह ठीक नहीं है और जो दूसरा कालम है, वह ठीक नहीं है। जिस परिस्थिति में यह अकार्ड हुआ और उससे पहले देश में जो परिस्थिति थी, वह हमारे भाई भूल रहे हैं। हमको यह स्थिति आज जो दिखाई दे रही है, क्या एक साल पहले यह स्थिति थी और उससे थोड़ा ज्यादा समय पहले की स्थिति क्या थी और उस पार्श्व भूमि में आज जो हमारी प्रगति हो रही है, उसके पहले की पार्श्व भूमि अगर हम देखें, तो यह हो कि जब खालिस्तान के मसले को लेकर इन्दिरा गांधी की हत्या हो गई थी, सारा देश सहम सा गया था, अनिश्चितता और चिंता का वातावरण सब दूर तक फैल गया था और देश में क्या होगा, यह बताने की हिम्मत भी किसी में नहीं रह गई थी। देश के विघटन होने की आशंका निर्माण हो गई थी कि अब क्या होगा ? यही सवाल सब के मन को खाये जा रहा था और साम्प्रदायिक दंगे और फिसाद शुरू हो गये थे और खतरा ही खतरा चारों ओर नजर आ रहा था।

कौन ऐसा पुत्र है जिसको अपनी प्रिय मां की हत्या का दुख नहीं होगा, पर ऐसे होते हुए भी मां के इस दुख को कलेजे में थाम कर अपनी जान हथेली में लेकर राजीव गांधी दिल्ली की गली-गली में घूमे और शांन्ति का वातावरण हमारे यहां उन्होंने निर्माण किया। क्या उन्हें भी उस वक्त कोई गोली नहीं मार सकता था ? पर उसकी उन्होंने परवाह नहीं की और धीरज और गम्भीरता के साथ उन्होंने परिस्थिति का मुकाबला किया और देश की जनता को विश्वास दिलाया और यह बताया उन्होंने कि इस देश का एक युवक नेता है जो हमारी रक्षा कर सकता है और इसीलिए भारी तादाद में जनता ने उनका समर्थन किया उनकी पार्टी का समर्थन किया और देश की एकता और अखण्डता को बनाये रखने की पूरी जिम्मेदारी उनके ऊपर उन्होंने सौंप दी। इसी कारण आज हम लोग बड़ी शांन्ति से बैठ कर चर्चा कर रहे हैं अभिभाषण के ऊपर और किसी अकार्ड का कोई कालम बराबर नहीं है, यह कहने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और हम यहां बैठ कर बाल की खाल निकालने की भी कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

यह हमको देखना चाहिए कि क्या स्थिति थी और आज कौनसी स्थिति पैदा हुई है कि जिस स्थिति में आज हम यहां बैठ कर इतने शांतिपूर्ण वातावरण में सारी बातें कह रहे हैं और सरकार की खामियां निकालने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, गये साल का अभिभाषण जो होता है, वह एक साल का जो काम किया होता है सरकार ने, उसके बारे में उसमें कहा जाता है। पहले क्या हुआ, जब से आजादी मिली तब से सारे देश की गरीबी नहीं मिटी। इसका अगर उत्तर देना है तो उसका तो जनता ने उत्तर दे दिया। जब भी देश में चुनाव हुए तो जनता ने कांग्रेस को ही समर्थन दिया। जो सारे सवाल जनता के सामने विपक्ष ने उछाले थे उसका जवाब तो जनता ने दे दिया है। अब सवाल यह है कि जो नई स्थिति निर्माण हुई है, हमें आगे जाना है, देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को मजबूत करना है, हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को मजबूत करना है, हमारे देश की राजनीतिक स्थिति को मजबूत करना है, अच्छा जीवन निर्माण करना है, यह हम किस प्रकार से कर सकते हैं और इसके लिए गए साल में क्या हुआ, यह हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी के अभिभाषण में दिया हुआ है। इसीलिए अगर हम फिर देखें, अगर हम उस पर गौर करें तो आप यह देखेंगे कि सब से बड़ा सवाल जिससे कि सामाजिक जीवन भ्रष्ट हो रहा था, आया राम और गया राम का सवाल, इनकी जो बातें सुनते थे और अच्छी-भली सरकार भी कभी-कभी गिर जाती थी, गिराने का काम चलता था, किसी भी प्रकार की शांति और स्थायी सेवाभाव या प्रवृत्ति हमें राजनीतिक शरीर में दिखाई नहीं दे रही थी, यह सार्वजनिक जीवन में नया जीवन निर्माण करने का काम दल-बदल विरोधी अधिनियम ला करके हमारी सरकार ने और राजीव जी ने किया है, जो कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार नहीं कर पाई और इसीलिए एक नया जीवन निर्माण हुआ है इस देश में और अब इसको लेकर हम कैसे आगे बढ़ सकते हैं विरोधी दल किस प्रकार

से इसमें हाथ बटा सकते हैं यह भी हम सोचें। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि उनकी शक्ति भी इस काम में लग जाए तो यह ज्यादा अच्छा होगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, इसको पढ़ने में और बातों कहने में टाइम नहीं लूंगी क्योंकि दस मिनट का समय है, सिर्फ एक-दो सुझाव देने हैं जो कि पब्लिक सैक्टर के बारे में हैं । हमने जो आर्थिक नीति अपनायी थी 1985-86 में वह अच्छी थी और हमें आगे चलना है । सिर्फ एक बात का ध्यान रखना पड़ेगा कि जो हमारा पब्लिक सैक्टर का उद्योग है उसमें जो खामियां हैं वे हमें ध्यानपूर्वक निकालनी होंगी । क्योंकि पब्लिक सैक्टर और प्राइवेट सैक्टर में जो फर्क है वह यह है कि प्राइवेट सैक्टर में पर्सनल इन्टरेस्ट होता है । उद्योगपति स्वयं उसमें दिलचस्पी लेता है । अगर उद्योग को घाटा आता है तो वह जान लगाकर उसमें देखता है कि किस प्रकार से उसमें सफलता प्राप्त की जाए । यह बात पब्लिक सैक्टर में नहीं होती है । अगर यह बात पब्लिक सैक्टर में लानी है तो उसका सी.एम.डी. है, एम.डी. है या जो जनरल मैनेजर हैं उनके ऊपर पर्सनल एकाउंटेबिलिटी डालनी होगी । हमको स्वीकारना होगा कि अगर कोई गलत बात होती है या घाटा होता है तो सी.एम.डी., एम.डी. या जनरल मैनेजर को हमें पकड़ना चाहिए । उनको यह कहना पड़ेगा कि सब कुछ ठीक प्रकार से ताकि इसमें घाटा नहीं आये । इस प्रकार से पब्लिक सैक्टर की तरक्की होगी और हम उसकी तरफ देखें तो बहुत कुछ हो सकता है जो कि आज हमें नहीं दिख रहा है । दूसरी बात जो दिखाई पड़ती है वह यह है कि स्ट्राइक बहुत हो जाती है । इसके लिए यह होना चाहिए कि किसी प्रकार से ट्रेड यूनियन्स से समझौता करके जो लेबर लीडर्ज हों उनसे समझौता करके स्ट्राइक की गुंजायश कम कर दें तो हमारे पब्लिक सैक्टर में जिसमें कि जनता का बड़ा भारी पूंजी निवेश होता है उसको हम आगे ले जा सकते हैं और पब्लिक सैक्टर की तरक्की कर सकते हैं । तीसरी बात यह है कि ओवर स्टाफिंग और लेबर जरूरत से ज्यादा लगाया जाता है, इससे वेज बिल बढ जाता है तो इससे घाटा आना शुरू हो जाता है । इस बात को भी देखना होगा। दूसरी जो कपड़ा नीति हमारी सरकार ने अपनायी है वह बहुत अच्छी है । उसके साथ जो हैंडलूम कपड़ा गरीब लोगों के लिए लगेगा उसका बुनने का काम उनको दे दिया है और उसके लिए एक नई मशीनरी कायम होने जा रही है । उसके साथ जो दूसरी नीति ली है कि जनता के पसंद के कपड़े का उत्पादन बढाओ और जो बढती हुई आबादी है उसको वाजिब दाम से उसका वितरण करो, यह सब करने के लिए शासन ने 208 करोड़ रुपये सहूलियत भी दिया है इसकी वजह से पॉलिएस्टर कपड़ों की कीमत दस परसेंट कम होगी, ऐसा सरकार समझती है । लेकिन टैक्सटाइल मिल में जो बनने वाला कपड़ा है उसमें सचमुच में कमी होगी या नहीं, वह इतना सस्ता कपड़ा देंगे या नहीं इसका भरोसा फिर से एक बार कर लेना जरूरी है, ऐसा मैं समझती हूं । **(समय की घंटी)** बहुत कम समय लगा है । मैं अभी पांच मिनिट में खत्म करती हूं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: You have already taken 12 minutes.

श्रीमती प्रतिभा देवीसिंह पाटिल : खैर, मैं इन बातों में न जाकर सिर्फ मोहन्ता साहब की एक बात का जवाब, जवाब तो क्या देना है, अपनी बात कह देना चाहती हूं उन्होंने मिड-टर्म पोल की बात की और कहा कि अगर जनता में जांय, तो वहां ऐसी स्थिति हो गयी है कि मिड टर्म पोल लाया जाये तो कांग्रेस को कोई समर्थन नहीं मिलेगा । उपाध्यक्ष महोदया, जब यह इस बात को कह रहे थे, तो मुझे एक छोटी सी बात याद आ गयी कि एक बहुत गरीब आदमी था, अपने रास्ते से चल रहा था । उसे बीच में रास्ते में बहुत भूख लगी । अब देख रहा था कि उसे रास्ते में कहीं रोटी मिले । रास्ते में एक बस्ती में वह गया और वहां की जो गृहणियां थीं, उनसे मिला, दरवाजा खटखटाया हरेक का औरकहा कि मुझे भूख लगी है, मुझे रोटी दीजिए, मेरी कुछ मदद कीजिए, मुझे खाने के लिए कुछ बंदोबस्त कीजिए । तो महिलाएं वहां आ गयी बाहर और उसे देखा, तो कहने लगी कि तुम्हारी हालत कितनी खराब है, भूख के मारे मर रहे

[श्रीमती प्रतिभा देवीसिंह पाटिल]

हो, तुम्हारा पेट अंदर जा रहा है, आंखे नजर नहीं आ रही है, इस तरह जो वहां पांच-छह औरतें आयी थीं, वे जोर-जोर से रोने लगीं उसकी हालत पर । एक महिला जो यह देख रही थी । वह अन्दर गयी और अन्दर से आधी रोटी लाकर उसे दी और कहा कि मैं आज तुम्हारे लिए आधी रोटी का बन्दोबस्त कर सकी हूं, कल आ जाना तो पूरी एक रोटी का बंदोबस्त कर दूंगी । जब ये मिडटर्म पोल के लिए जनता के पास जाएगें, तो लोग जानते है कि हमें रोटी देने वाली पार्टी कौन सी है और हमारे लिए रोने वाली पार्टियां कौन-कौन सी है । जो रोटी देने वाली पार्टी है, उसके पास हमेशा जनता गयी है और आगे भी जाने वाली है । इसलिए केवल थोड़ा सा यह हो गया कि थोड़ी सी प्राइज राइज हो गयी, इसके जरिए अगर मन के लड्डू खाना आपने शुरू कर दिया है, तो मुझे लगता है कि वह आपकी गलतफहमी है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, जब पैर में कांटा चुभ जाता है, तो कांटा निकालने के लिए सूई लगानी पड़ती है, सूई के चुभाने पर ही कांटा बाहर निकलता है । प्राइज राइज थोड़ी चुभी है लोगों को, हमारे लिए भी खुशी की बात नहीं है लेकिन अगर थोड़ी सी यह चुभन जनता सहन कर लेगी तो हमारी एकानामी ज्यादा आगे बढेगी, यह बीमारी निकल जाएगी, काया की पीड़ा निकल जाएगी और हमारी एकानोमी को आगे बढने के लिए अवसर मिलेगा । इस दृष्टि से मैं देश की जनता को विनम्रता से कहना चाहती हूं कि इसको आप कृपा करके सहन कर लीजिए, आगे आपकी ही भलाई होने वाली है । आपने इतना बड़ा समर्थन सरकार को दिया है और कोई भी सरकार नहीं चाहती है कि जिस जनता ने इतना बड़ा समर्थन उसे दिया है, उसको वह कुछ दुख दे । जो लोगों का दर्द है, उस दर्द को आगे हमको मिटाना है और यही समझ कर जनता हमारा समर्थन करने वाली है । धन्यवाद ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Mr. Upendra.

SHRI SITARAM KESRI: Only three minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI] His party has got 15 minutes.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I will exceed by five minutes. I may tell you in advance. The President's address is a policy statement of the Government. It reads like a good student's essay on 'India of My Dreams'. It paints such a rosy picture of the situation in this country. It mentions what the Government intends to do and will do. It does not mention exactly what was the real achievement and in which spheres the Government has failed.

Madam, the ruling party received a massive mandate in the last parliamentary elections. Strictly speaking, I do not consider it as a mandate either for the ruling party, the Congress (I) or Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. It was a posthumous sympathy vote for Mrs. Gandhi. But anyhow, in true democratic tradition, we treat it as a mandate for the ruling party. Otherwise, if it was really a mandate for the ruling party and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, they could not have lost the Assembly elections in so many States three months later, they continue to lose so many by-elections afterwards. It clearly indicates that it was not really a mandate for the Congress (I) or Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. However, with such a massive mandate, it is expected of this Government to fulfil its promises and to execute the programmes it has announced.

Madam, it has been mentioned here in para 9 of the President's Address as to what were the major policies and programmes of the Government. They mentioned ten of them. And except, perhaps, the establishment of a Wasteland Development Board, the formation of a Central Ganga Authority and the messed up new Textile Policy, there was no fulfilment in any of the other promises made. They still remain promises and dreams.

The Address mentioned that "a strong sense of involvement in public affairs among all sections of the people and a buoyant spirit have characterised the year that has gone by". "The buoyant spirit", fortunately, was related to the past year

and referred to in the past tense. If they search there hearts to day, they will realise that there is no more such "buoyant spirit" among the people of this country, and they themselves know that. Their faces indicate that and they do realise the mood of the country today. And, Madam, within one year, the great euphoria which the Prime Minister has created in this country and the image which he has created for himself in this country are dissipating and are being lost gradually day by day. I am not speaking with any glee on my face. As an Opposition man, I may think that it will bring electoral or some other political advantage to the Opposition. But as a countryman, as a man interested in the nation's development, I feel any slip on the part of this Government or of the Prime Minister will reflect on the progress of this country, will greatly undermine the progress of this country. With great sorrow I say that this euphoria and this glamour which he has created in the country are fading.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: What is your suggestion?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I will come to that. Have a little patience. Madam, I may be right or wrong, but today a large section of the population feels that major decisions of this country are being taken on impulses, in a panicky manner. So many major decisions are being taken just like that without any proper consultation with the persons concerned in their own Party as well as in the Opposition. For one year long, for more than a year, the Opposition has been co-operating wholeheartedly with this Government. And in all major decisions we have associated ourselves. We thought it our duty, as a constructive Opposition, to cooperate with the Government. But, of course, we were rewarded for cooperation by being called anti-national and being dubbed as anti-national. That is a different story and we are not worried about it. In spite of our being misunderstood by the people of this country as inept Opposition—the newspapers have reported that it is inept, it is docile and it is not playing its role—still we thought it our duty to co-operate with the Prime Minister when he was doing good. But what is the result today? If you analyse, you will find that we have come back to the same place, we have taken a full circle and we have come back to square one. Which problem has been solved? The euphoria which the Prime Minister got was because he solved the Assam problem, he solved the Punjab problem, and he solved so many problems. But have they really been solved today? Take every problem. It remains where it was. You take the Punjab problem. It was bungled all along, and again there is bungling today, Punjab is in trouble again. The moderate elements are in trouble again. The extremists are gaining an upper hand. Where has it been solved. Take the Assam problem. We have not made any beginning in the implementation of the Assam accord. And the greatest of the dangers is the communal tension which is raising everywhere on petty issues, and we are not able to contain. Today Kashmir is on fire. The Home

5 P.M. Minister has to rush there and there is no suggestion from the Government how they are going to tackle this problem. Lakhs of people are involved. So many houses are being burnt, temples are being desecated. But there is no move by the Government to set things right. There is no sensation or feelings of urgency in this Government that something has to be done. Similarly, throughout the country and in various parts of the country there are communal tensions and social tensions; and atrocities against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are increasing, atrocities against women are increasing. Which problem have we been able to solve during the last one year? Madam, I want an answer from this Government.

The Prime Minister has earned the name of "Mr. Clean" I do consder him as "Mr. Clean." He is a clean man try-

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]

ing to cleanse the public life of this country. But in the same party there are Chief Ministers like Bhajan Lal and J. B. Patnaik amassing wealth. You may call yourself "Mr. Clean" but they are making the collections in your name. Have you told them that collections should not be made? I want to question the ruling party (*Interruptions*). I want to question the ruling party. Please do not disturb me. No point of order. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA (Himachal Pradesh): Madam, names should not be taken, when they are not here to defend themselves.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: All right, I will delete the names. I will say, some Chief Ministers. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I will request the hon. Members on this side not to interrupt.

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA: Madam, they are not here to defend themselves against such allegations. Why should names be taken. (*Interruptions*). We have not said a word about his Chief Minister.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV (Maharashtra): Madam Vice-Chairman, I request that the names may be removed from the record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: If you resume your seat, I shall say something.

श्री सैयद रहमतुल्ला अली (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : मेरा प्वांइट आफ आर्डर यह है कि क्या कोई इस हाउस का मेम्बर किसी ऐसे फर्द का नाम ले सकता है कि जो इस हाउस में अपने को डिफेंड करने के लिए मौजूद न हो ? मैं इस पर आप की रूलिंग चाहता हूं । आप रूलिंग दें कि जो अभी दो लोगों के नाम लिए गये वे इस हाउस में मौजूद नहीं हैं । तो उनको यह हक नहीं है कि वे उन को यहां मेंशन करें । आप इस पर अपनी रूलिंग दें और रूलिंग दे कर रिकार्ड में जो नाम आए हैं उन को खारिज करायें ।

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Madam, I am also on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I am requesting the hon. Members on this side and also on the other side that they should not waste the time of the House. I am requesting the hon. Member who is on his legs not to use the names of those people. I am requesting him to simply speak in general terms and not use anybody's specific name like that. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: Madam, several times names have been taken in this House. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Madam, I am on a point of order. If this is the ruling, there is a problem. For instance, do we take the name of Ram Swaroop here. He is not present in the House. The problem is that... (*Interruptions*) I am on a point of order. Madam, we mentioned once the name of Sethia. How can they say we cannot mention names of those whose who are not here?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: There are occasions when names are mentioned. But today I requested the hon. Member not to use specific name. He can say it in general terms.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: I follow your ruling.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Then I would request hon. Members on this side not to interrupt.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: That means you cannot refer to Madam Gandhi, or Jawaharlal Nehru.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: By mentioning only two names I made an understatement. Therefore, I would say so many State Chief Ministers—Chief Ministers of Congress-I ruled States, are corrupt and this thing does not go with the claim of the Prime Minister that he is Mr. Clean... (*Interruptions*). And also they had a big *tamasha* in Bombay... (*Interruptions*) and spent... (*Interruptions*). What is this? If they interrupt, every sentence I cannot speak. Why are they so touchy?

SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI: 'Tamasha' is unparliamentary word.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: You speak when your turn comes.

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO JADHAV: I am on a point of order. 'Tamasha' is an unparliamentary word.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: It is Parliamentary. Who says it is not? (*Interruptions*) It is Parliamentary. Anyway, I will give English word for it. There was lot of fun and show. Madam, they had a big show in Bombay and spent, as per the newspaper reports, about Rs. 25 crores. I would like to ask where from did they get this money? If it was not from corrupt businessmen and blackmarketeers and smugglers, from where did they get it? Have they published accounts about it? Does it go with the image of the Prime Minister that he is Mr. Clean? I only gave two examples to show that this claim of curbing corruption is a sham to improve one's personal image, which is being done.

Another claim which is made in this speech is about speedier decision making. Madam, we have raised this matter here several times. Hundreds of projects and proposals which have been submitted by the State Governments are pending for the last three years, and many of them during the last one year. There has been no decision, though repeatedly Chief Ministers are coming and submitting the proposals and not a thing comes. Particularly, irrigation projects and so many other projects are lying either with the Central Water and Power Commission or with Planning Commission without a decision. And they talk of speedier decision making.

There is a Minister for Programme Implementation—a Cabinet Minister. If they wanted to provide for Mr. Ghani Khan Choudhry, they could have given him some portfolio and even if they had created a portfolio for Malda affairs, it was alright but they created a portfolio of Programme Implementation and nobody knows of it. Whenever we write about pending projects, the Minister of Planning replies, the Minister of Programme Implementation does not come into the picture. This is the speedy decision this Government is talking about. There is of course a claim about higher agricultural production and industrial production. But it is not to their credit. Credit goes to people of this country, the hard-working kisans and workers; they are responsible for this higher industrial and food production. What is the Government's contribution? What policies they have? Whatever policies which have been announced, they are in the doldrums. Not a single policy has been finalised. What about a National Water Policy? Where is it? What about the new education Policy? Has it been finalised? No. They are all on paper only. They claim that so many new policies have been initiated and so many innovations have been made.

Of course, I do congratulate the Government that they have launched a big drive against black money holders and tax evaders. I agree. This should be done. This should have been done long back. But they ruling party did not do because they uhave been surviving on this black money, because they have been winning elections on the basis of black money, collecting money from the tax evaders. Therefore, they did not touch them. But at least, they are now trying to do that. Here also, this is being done selectively. Those who contribute to the Congress Party, those who are very friendly with the ruling cloque, they are not being touched. Only those people who

[Shri Parvathaneni Upendra]

refuse to pay them, they are being touched. Here, I take objection to the way in which they are proceeding in this matter. By all means, enquire into these cases. But immediately, the moment you conduct thee raids, you are publicising their names in newspapers. You humiliate them, harass them, arrest them, without even a *prima facie* case, without even making a preliminary enquiry. Is it the way to treat people, responsible people in the society, who are trying to improve the economic situation in the country, who are trying to increase situation in the country, who are the captains of industry? Why should you demoralise them? If there is a *prima facie* case, enquire into it, by all means, come out with their names and punish the people concerned. You are not doing that. You are doing it only for the sake of publicity. This is only a show and nothing but a show. What is the ultimate result? We do not know what is the outcome of all this. It is all funfare. Have you found anything in any case? Let them come out with the details. They are not doing that.

Similarly, great noise is made about security, about espionage and all that. I do not know how much more time I have. But you should deduct the time caused by interruptions. We catch people and say that we want to take strong action against those who are indulging in anti-national activities. But nothing comes out after that. A lot of fanfare is made. Big names are mentioned, Opposition leaders are blackmailed. They are maligned. But what is the crime? What have they done? For 30 long years, one fellow is openly hobnobbing with the ruling party. You tolerate him and suddenly you wake up and make noise. What is the fun? Whom do you want to fool? Whom do you want to kid? This is not the type of thing which the Government should do. This is all fanfare, this is all show, nothing but show.

Madam, in the economic sphere also, there is a huge trade deficit. Exports are declining. Imports are increasing. In the name of high technology, indiscriminate imports are being allowed day by day. On what front, you can take credit?

Now, Madam, about foreign policy. The Prime Minister is going globe trofting and visiting so many countries. Well, this is good for his image, and for the country's image also. But the success of foreign policy is based on or is judged by how you behave with your neighbours, how you are able to influence your neighbours. Can the Government come forward and say that they have been successful in dealing with any of our neighbours? Your Sri Lanka policy is a failure. Your policy in the case of Pakistan is a failure. They are going ahead with the development of nuclear weapons. You are not able to solve your problem with Bangladesh. Bhutan is suspicious of you. Nepal is suspicious of you. Where is the success? You call it a success because the Foreign Minister goes to Nicaragua or some such country, smiles with somebody and gets a picture? This is not the success of foreign policy. We have miserably failed in promoting good relations with our neighbours and in influencing their actions.

Then, Madam, as far as the minorities are concerned. The Government has brought forward a Bill in regard to Muslim women. The Government is playing with the lives of the people. This is a hurried step. This is a panicky reaction. They have brought forward a Bill which is ill-conceived and which is not only against the interests of the Muslim community in particular, but it is also against the fundamental rights of the people of this country. They have done this without consulting the opposition, breaking the tradition of consulting the opposition, violating the promise of consulting the opposition. They have hurriedly drafted a Bill and introduced it in the Lok Sabha. The result is, there is a revolt in the ruling party itself. There have been angry reactions. This is the way they function. These are the types of impulsive decisions which the Government are taking which will land the country in trouble. This is what I say. I am concluding. I am not pointing out these things with a sense of satisfaction. I am saying all these things with a sense of feeling, with a sense of frustration and disappointment. The man who created so many hopes in this country is today falling, slipping. He started

from a summit. He started from an advantageous position. He cannot go up further. He needs a helicopter for that. Even to remain in that position is very difficult. He is slipping, he is slipping down the hill and you have to take note of it, the ruling party has to take note of it and analyse as to what is the reason for that.

AN HON. MEMBER: How are you worried?

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: As a countryman, I have to worry. Therefore, I say that this "buoyant spirit" is not there, there is no buoyant spirit, the country is going into a depressing spirit and this has to be taken note of. And I can only say... (*Interruptions*)

श्री जसवंत सिंह: क्या आप बैल हांक रहे हैं ? मैम्बरों से ऐसे चिल्ला कर बोल रहे हैं ... (**व्यवधान**) ।

THE VICE-CHAIMAN [DR. (SHRI MATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: Mr. Jaswant Singh, please don't interrupt.

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: In conclusion, I am concluding... (*Interruptions*) I do not want to speak more I have made my point. In the end I would only say, Mr. Pilot, one engine of the jet has failed. It is your duty to force land, reconsider and repair it. Otherwise, you will crash and with you will crash the 72 crore people of this country. Thank you.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA (Gujarat): Madam Chairperson, I wanted to congratulate the Opposition at least on one or two counts, but the last speech that has been made somehow has deprived them of a balanced attitude. The previous speakers—none of them—could criticise the Congress Government on their constant theme—*i.e.* corruption. At least the Central Government is not attacked this time. For the first time after so many years, this charge of corruption is not levelled against the Central Government and against the Prime Minister. This shows that they have been compelled to see the reality. And secondly, there is no spectacle nowadays of "Aya Rams and Gaya Rams" and there is a sort of stability in the States. This also they could not condemn because the reality has to be accepted. But they have concentrated on some difficulties which our nation is facing, not the Congress Government alone. And it seems that they are not able to see the distress of the nation. They think the Congress Government is in difficulty, therefore they attack the Congress Government. Well, it is upto them how to judge the situation. But undoubtedly they had an opportunity at least to go down in the history of India and to seize the golden opportunity. They mock at us when we talk about clean values, but they had a chance to exhibit their cleanliness. Therefore I would say, because I do not want to attack any Chief Minister—the person is not in the House—but I may be allowed to quote from the judgment of a High Court. The judgment says: "It smacks of arbitrariness and is flagrant violation of the rule of law and it shock the judicial conscience". About whom this judgment is talking about? It is also being said that the Finance Ministry said that it is not clear from the file as to how the Excise Commissioner has selected 19 bottling contractors out of 131. "Otherwise the selection is subject to challenge in a court of law". Once again it goes on to say that initially the case involved chargesheets to the effect... There is mention of one Chief Minister and I do not want to mention his name. His son-in-law is involved in this through a business associate of his. One of the successful applicants was none other than the brother-in-law of one Minister: I don't want to mention his name. Then came the real drama. They believe in value-based politics and therefore the Chief Minister resigned. He wanted to show the path to the Indian nation, and tell that here is a man who has the guts to give up power because he cherishes those values. But three days afterwards, according to the news papers, he came back because his followers were weeping. What for? If you give a certificate to Rajiv Gandhi and condemn his friends as unclean, find out why were they weeping hard? Because the Chief Minister was going out of power and thereby they were also losing some advantages. I am not happy in taunting that Chief Minister, Madam Vice-Chairperson. It

[Shri Chimanbhai Mehta]

distressed me. I was looking for a golden opportunity, that here was a man, may be from the Opposition, and he was prepared to sacrifice power. And ultimately what is power? That is how our Prime Minister has acted. On the question of the Punjab accord he knew he was going to lose in the election. On the Assam accord he was knowing what was going to be the consequence. You may blame him of error of judgment but there was an absolutely honest motivation that the nation comes first, that interests of the party are secondary. Here was a person who tried it. And here is a leader, you may call it a *jamboree* or a *tamasha* but there he delivered a summation of a hundred years of experience of our national life and said that Congressmen are also lacking in so many thnigs. He said Congressmen are behaving like unprincipled people; power brokers, etc. Has any of the Opposition political leaders the courage of conviction to criticize his own man, his own leader, his own Chief Minister who was condemned by the judiciary that he is revolting to the judicial conscience, that his action was totally arbitrary? I feel agonized. It is a depressing picture. It is not a question of enjoying at the weakness of the Opposition. For three and a half decades we have been fighting and seeing the Opposition. After their last defeat, the same performance is repeated. Then where will our nation go?

Yesterday Mr. Dipen Ghosh—he is not here—took out the fifth paragraph of the President's Address where it is mentioned that fundamentalism is growing, communalism is being encouraged by fundamentalism. Is it not a correct observation by the President? What was wrong? But then he was enjoying the deabte like a college student.

He asked, "In the name of Muslim Women Bill, what are you doing?" Well, you have every right to ask that question. But was that observation of the President just a hypocrisy? What is happening in Punjab? When Indiraji was telling about the fundamentalists, about the terrorists, did you not ever under-estimate it or interpreted her observation as a stunt? What ultimately happens to the nation one knows when one important leader is going to be attacked like this, when she or he is going to be sacrificed, Now, about the fundamentalism I can also give a taunt to them. It was a distressful picture. The Father of the Nation never approved of the partition of India. But who was advocating the theory of partition of India on the religious basis, in the name of self-determination?, may I ask Mr. Dipen Ghosh? But I do not want to taunt them. So many years have passed by. In their young days they were not well versed in the application of the Marxism; so, they made mistakes. Now they are also maturing I suppose. But let the maturity come in the debate in the proper form.

Regionalism, who is encouraging it? You have a regional case. They have to choose their own case. But why should the national parties co-operate with them? Regional parties are regional parties. I want to ask this question. Have you lost national bearing? What compels you to join hands with them?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: (Karnataka): What about in Madras?

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: I know that. I am coming to that question. You are right. We are being compelled by each other. And that should prevent us if you are asking this question. I know that we are gradually going down to the politics of manipulations.

But then why do you say that the young man is doing like this? You are a much elderly person with very big experience behind you. The smallest mistake of ours is mentioned.

Yes, we had the courage in Bombay to say about the faults, about the performance. And he said to the Opposition, "You do not hesitate in colluding with foreign powers and imperialists." I was hearing an explanation on Taiwan tour in this House. Somebody was asking, "Is Taiwan forbidden territory?" Do you not know, Sir, that India was the first country to recognise the Republic of

China? Why did you go to Taiwan. for what? What knowledge did you want to acquire? And remember our two Ministers have resigned, although they were not proved guilty. We have set that example. Have you set that example?

Therefore, we tell you to take some pains to understand. This Address does not criticise the Opposition at least. They are spared totally because we want to cultivate national consensus. Rajivji is trying to build a new approach, to take the Opposition into confidence. And under pressure of work sometimes if we are not able to consult in time, motives are imputed.

Madam Vice-Chairperson, I have not repeated the points which were covered by the previous speakers. Therefore, kindly have a little indulgence for me to say certain new points.

About the administrative reforms, this is a question partaining to our Government and other Governments. It is my experience of 42 years of political life, including the period of freedom struggle, that our bureaucracy is very rigid. Although we are trying very hard—and this new Government is also trying hard—yet they are rooted in their own pasts. Therefore, what is to be done? If Janata Government failed, it was because of their own position, but the bureaucracy did not heed them. Here also what is happening, I am seeing that at district and Taluka levels when these big programmes are worked out, nothing is felt by the rural masses. Here I am speaking as a Congressman. I want to tell this to the House so that you can cultivate an opinion and...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. (SHRIMATI) SAROJINI MAHISHI]: I will request the Member to conclude now. You have taken a lot of time.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: Madam, you have been giving a lot of time to others. I am taking up new points only.

I would, therefore, say that the Administration has to be linked with the political and public workers even at the Taluka and district levels.

About the electoral reforms, we have done something, but something more is required to be done. There should be a debate on this. I cannot go ahead with its elaboration because the bell is ringing. What is the basic difficulty in our electoral system? At least in the local elections we can do something. Although the political parties sponsor candidates, we know their composition. We try to find out a winning candidate and the winning candidate is that person who belongs to a predominant caste. So candidates are elected to the Panchayats and sometimes to the Legislatures on the basis of the castes. So, such bodies are converted into a conglomeration of the castes. When this type of representatives come to power, how can they deliver the goods? Therefore, let us have reforms based on a new culture. At the time of choosing a candidate, the choice should not be caste-based, but it should be based on the commitment to the programme and performance in the Constituencies of the party.

A lot has been said about the foreign policy, but here I would say that the Americans have been playing dirty games everywhere. Somebody mentioned about Nicaragua. That country is fighting a glorious battle against the American imperialism. It is very good that our Foreign Minister went to Nicaragua. We should give all help to the freedom loving people and those who are fighting against the foreign imperialists including Nicaragua.

Lastly I would say a couplet. You have been harping all the time on difficult situations. So, I would say:

"रास्ते की मुश्किलात का क्या जिक्र दोस्तो,
रास्ते की मुश्किलात का मुंह चूमते चलो,
तूफां के रहम पर थी फकीरों की कश्तियां,
तूफां ही कश्तियों को किनारे चलाता गया।"

In the end, whatever you may say in the speech, reminds us that—

"सच्चाई छिप नहीं सकती बनावट के उसूलों से,
खुशबू आ नहीं सकती कागज के फूलों से।"

Please remember this. People know about it.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Madam Vice-Chairman, I read from the second page of the Presidential Address, para 10:

> "My Government have fulfilled in substantial measure the tasks they had set for themselves for the past year."

This Presidential Address has given us a very rosy picture and a smooth picture as if they are going to take us to the 21st century millenium where Jesus himself is coming down to reign. But actually you have left us to the dungeoon of devil. Look at all the spheres of economy, administration, education. culture, attitude towards women and other backward sections, national integration, communal harmony, the picture is a total failure. Madam, there is a definite shift towards worst. That is what I want to say. It is due to the wrong policies of the Government, anti-democratic methods and anti-people measures that the situation is going from bad to worse. If we take the entire position of the economy. no spectacular economic growth has taken place either industrially or agriculturally; either in urban or rural areas. Why? Because we are bound to satisfy the foreign multinationals and Indian monopolists. We have to increase the prices of all essential Commodities and exploit the poor under the pressure of the World Bank and IMF. We have an unprecedented price rise when the value of Re. 1 is coming down only to 16 paise. The unemployment figure rose to more than 2 and half crores. The black-money accumulated is not less than Rs. 40,000 crores. Recently we had the price hike through administrative measures ignoring the Parliament. The fiscal policy announced in December, 1985 offers further encouragement and incentives to the private sector minimising the importance of the public sector.

Madam, during the Seventh Five Year Plan. the Planning Commission has given us a growth rate of only 5 per cent in the economy. The growth rate achieved during the sixth Five Year Plan was 5.2 per cent. It is clear that the rate of growth now is less than the previous plan. What will be the result? The result will be more and more people will be pushed down below the poverty line. Madam, in the case of industry the growth rate was negligible.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: During the Sixth Five Plan the growth rate was 3.5.

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: If you know better, then, you give the figures to the Minister, he will correct it. Madam, the economy was affected due to bad management and sickness in major industries like cotton, textiles, jute, engineering, electrical, iron and steel.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (**Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu**) in the Chair].

According to the report of the Labour Ministry, 80, 110 small and big industries are sick. In the Address there is not a single word about the nationalisation of big industries like jute, tea, etc. Look at agriculture, the picture is more gloomy. There is no programme for implementation of land reforms, 80 per cent of our people live in the villages. There is no new generation of employment opportunities. Then we have price hike and the fall of agricultural products. There is a tremendous contradiction. That is, the picture of hunger in the midst of plenty. You know we had two bumper crops. The foodgrains have been stockpiled in FCI godowns. FCI do not know where to stockpile these foodgrains. FCI godowns are overflowing and millions of people are hungry. Now, these foodgrains can be used in NREP, RLEGP and Food for Work Programme which we have to stop at the instance of the IMF and the World Bank. Now you can feed the people with this excess food and at the same time, you can employ them for developmental work. You can create human capital by that. But that you will not do, I know. You talk of technological improvement. That is all right. But you keep the major portion of the population out of your developmental programme. That is the basic difficulty. That is why you lead the country more and more into crisis, going in the capitalist path. That is the problem with you. You improve technology, you improve engineering, you improve everything, but you starve the people. It is like curing the dis-

ease but killing the patient. You want to improve the nation by killing the people, pushing them down and down under the povertyline. That is your programme. Still you, say that you are going towards socialism. Yes, Brutus is an honourable man. It is just like that.

Take the question of education. It is in conformity with your economic policy. You are proud of the paper that you have submitted. that is, "Challenge of Education". It is in conformity with your economic policy. In the name of improving the quality of education, you are taking us to the computer age, but you are giving up the responsibility of free and compulsory primary education. At the cost of mass education, you are going to estabilish some model schools of excellence. You will deny the democratic rights of the students, teachers and the non-teaching staff. You are going to replace the elected bodies with nominated bodies. Now you are giving up the Government's responsibility of providing free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 years, which is a commitment of our Constitution. Now, in the name of non-formal education, you are neglecting primary education and you are destroying the very base of nation-building. There is no effort for abolition of illiteracy and universalisation of elementary education. So this is your draft, "Challenge of Education". Now, according to this draft itself, in the year 2000, 55 per cent of the entire illiterate people of the world will be in India. This is your commitment on education and you are very proud of it. And what else is there in the draft? No higher education, no new schools and colleges, increase in tuition fee, increase in capitation fee, delinking of jobs from academic degrees and abolition of examinations also. Then what to do? Just leave it to the bureaucratic bodies—a 'national testing service' for selection to jobs. Will not corruption enter there? And what policy are you giving to the youth of the nation? Have you got any youth policy, for their employment, for their health, for their education? What are you doing for the youth who are the very life-blood of this nation? Nothing. Just by delinking jobs from degrees, they will neither get degrees nor jobs. That will be their fate. Now you are encouraging the private sector in the educational field also. The private sector can open colleges and charge higher tuition fees, capitation fees. You are opening model schools as centres of excellence at the expense of mass education. There will be no education for the peasants and the workers. Who will take you to the 21st century? If the peasants and the workers are not educated, if science and technology do not reach them, then who will take you there ? Only a few people of the upper strata will take you to the 21st century? You are converting education into a commodity to be purchased only by the affluent sections of the people. This is the spirit of your new draft.

Take female education. What have you done here? Half the population of country consists of women. But not even 25 per cent of them are literate. What have you done for them? What did you propose for them in your draft? Nothing, no proposal to improve female education, no allocation for them. You have talked of a 'comprehensive national programme for women'. But you are going back to medieval ages. You have introduced that black Bill for Muslim women which is a disgrace to the relationship between man and woman. Is this the sign of your comprehensive national programme for women? Is this the position you are offering to women in a civilised country? By pushing the whole lot of our Muslim sisters and mothers towards medieval exploitation, turning them away from their rights to menfolk's property! You are encouraging discrimination between man and woman. You are putting to shame the human rights and fundamental rights guaranteed under the

[Shrimati Kanak Mukherjee]

Constitution. The Constitution guarantees them education, gives them scope for employment, scope for their cultural improvement, for bringing them out of their backwardness, from obscurantism, from the superstitions of feudal legacies. But, no, you are only pushing them further backward. This is your policy for women and you are boasting of a new national programme for women. We had a Status Committee for women set up by this Congress Government under Indira Gandhi and we have observed an international women's decade and we are proud of the movement launched for equality between man and woman. But what do we see here? More atrocities on women, more bride-burning cases, more rapes, more unemployment among women, and to cap it all the Government is codifying an age old medieval, orthodox, obscrantist, system, a degrading and discriminatory system, instead of marching forward towards equality between man and woman. The Constitution directs us to go ahead towards a common civil code. But what are you doing here? You are taking us backward. (*time-bell rings*) Therefore, you have no plans for women's education and employment, you have no proposals for equad political rights for women, which is the need of the day.

Coming to the budgetary allocation for education, it is only 1 per cent. The Education Commissions had recommended 10 per cent. You have the recommendations of the Gajendragadkar Committee, you have the recommendations of the Kothari Commission, you have the recommendations of other committees and commissions. But you are not following anyone of them. In West Bengal on-fourth of the total budget is allotted for education. Last year the 1985-86 they allocated Rs. 520 crores and I hope this year the allocation will be more. In West Bengal they have opened one primary education centre in each village and I am proud of it. For female education last year the West Bengal Government won a competition they came first. This is the position in West Bengal. See the contrast between the Union Government's policy and the West Bengal Government's policy. Therefore, I demand education must be transferred to the State List. In fact, education was in the State List. Without regional development how can the country develop? Ours is a country with unity in diversity. That is what our poets have said. "Bibidher Majhe Ache Milana Mahan". That is the slogan of unity in diversity. That is the spirit of our nation as it should be. But what did you do to cherish it, to foster it? You want to centralise all powers. You have taken away the State List items and centralised the power in the field of education also. You are trying a regimentation in the field of education by introducing a rigid educational pattern.

The whole system should be democratised. Now you are ignoring the region languages and you are giving importance to Hindi only. In your policy paper on Education, you have given priority to the Hindi language only. I have no objection to that. The Hindi language should be given importance; that is true. But why not give importance to the other regional languages also or at least those languages which are there in the Constitution? Why don't you allow the people to have their own education in their own languages also? So, you did not do that.

Now, Sir, I would like to say here that Education should be brought back to the State List for proper regional development and for making up for the regional imbalance which we are having now.

Now, Sir, I come to the other aspect, that is, culture and communication. Take the question of the mass media. The communication media of the people is very much important. The most important media which are there now are the TV, the radio and the monopoly-controlled Press which are used by the ruling

party for its own partisan interests. This has become their policy today and everybody knows that they are just the mouthpieces of the ruling party only which should not be the case in any democratic form of Government. Now Sir, major national decisions are taken unilaterally without having the benefit of the views of the State Governments and the other related agencies. This has happened in recent times. Decisions with regard to the TV expansion programme, film distribution outfit, formulation of the newsprint policy and the announcement of wage boards for the journalists etc. have all been taken unilaterally by the Centre without any prior consultation with the State Governments or the related agencies. But, at the same time I must say that there is no comprehensive national communication policy at all. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Sarkaria Commission is examining the Centre-State relations and we hope that the question of transfer of the radio and television from the Union List to the Concurrent List, as suggested by the West Bengal Government, will be given due consideration.

AN HON. MEMBER: Your Government has suggested it?

SHRIMATI KANAK MUKHERJEE: Yes, we have suggested it. We have suggested the transfer of these to the Concurrent List and we hope that the Sarkaria Commission also will give due consideration to this question. Now, Sir the control over the major media is shared by the private sector and the Union Government and the Press and the films are mostly controlled by the private sector, and the AIR and the TV are controlled by the Central Government. But institutions like the Press Council, etc. are there to look into matters concerning the Press. But, for matters connected with AIR and the TV, there is no organised body outside the Central Government. So they can do whatever they like. The expansion of the TV is only serving the ruling party's interests more and more, but the objectives of social, economic and cultural uplift of the people, national integration, communal harmony, etc. are not being served by these mass media. Now the network expansion seems to be only for the purpose of telecasting the national network programme from Delhi and Bombay and the States do not get the benefit of these in their regional programmes. Many times we have ourselves raised this question on the floor of this very House and also in the Consultative Committee but without any result or remedy. Coming to the film industry, I would say that there is an anomaly in the certification of films. Due to these anomalies, obscene and sexy films, depecting the decadent culture and encouraging anti-social elements, are being allowed and such films are there very often in the market for commercial purposes. But this powerful medium should be made purposeful and they must have a social responsibility. But there is no such thing so far as these media are concerned.

Regarding the role of the film Industry, I would like to state that the role of the NFDC must be revised. The eastern zone is suffering very much in this regard. In the eastern zone, only a 16 mm Films Division was opened three years before in Calcutta. But suddenly it was decided to close it down. We protested and the decision has now been deferred. It has not been given up, but it has only been deferred. And, Sir, this was also due to the intervention by us in both the Houses of Parliment and intervention by the Chief Minister of West Bengal. For the purpose of cultural exchanges and communal harmony, decentralisation and democratisation of these media should be there. Sir the economy education and culture must be re-oriented so that not only the upper 10 per cent but cent per cent, millions of people, march forward towards the 21st century.

Thank you.

[**Mr. Deputy Chairman** in the Chair].

SHRI DINKARRAO GOVINDRAO PATIL (Maharashtra): Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks. The hon. President's Address reflects the remarkable success of our young Prime Minister who took India to a high position in the world, I heard the criticism from the Opposition benches against our Government and leader but they should not forget that his courage after the great tragedy and his faith in democracy led him

[Shri Dinkarrao Govindrao Patil]

to the poll for the verdict of the people instead of seeking shelter behind the barracks of emergency. This elevated the stature of Shri Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister of India.

Sir, within less than one and a half years in office, he emerged as the most popular of contemporary leaders, with the world media and TV playing him up as their top star among the politicians. The Opposition leaders may say anything either on the ground of price hike or on the false picture of his reversion, but the factlies as it is that one can visualise the formen pilot as today's master of the skies, jet-speeding 800 million seated super Jambo, that is, Bharat. to the 21st century.

Our Congress Party Government made two historic awards regarding Punjab and Assam at the cost of our party interest and for the highest interest of the notion's unity and integrity. A great responsibility of eliminating the terrorist activities rests on those who secured the mandate of the people. But in fact the seeds of disintegration were laid down by opposition leaders. Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, they are the hindrances in the way of socialism. They had come forward to protect the interest of capitalism and imperialism since 1971. They are exploiting the situation in all border States. Not only this, Sir, but some communal parties and reactionary forces are responsible for the assassinations of Mahatma Gandhi and Shrimati Indira Gandhi by keeping the guns supplied by foreign agency on the shoulders of the terrorists.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, regarding our commitments referred to in the speech, hon. President made the appreciation of the work done by the Government wihtin a short period. The promises are being fulfilled by making the public life clean, reforming administration and judiciary, introducing a new national policy and many schemes to solve the unemployment problem and eradication of poverty.

Last year, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Government brought anti-defection and blackmoney bills. Even before, the controversial budget presented by very able and trusted Finance Minister, Shri V. P. Singh, transformed the Indian economy. The Prime Minister told us that it was being conceived and planned to tackle the demon of black money. He took the business community at its word that the reason for tax evasion was the high rate of taxation to announce several tax concessions. This again generated the criticism 6.00 PM the opposition leaders that the new regime had departed from the Nehru-Indira path of development. But our Prime Minister said that the concession could be incentives for honesty, but stern and deterrent action could be taken if tax evasion continued. And true to his word, by the end of the year, the Finance Minister had come down heavily on economic offenders and the black money operators.

Regarding Swaraj for the last man, I am grateful for having referred to the dream of our leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. This is the principle, policy and programme of our Government. The opposition leaders who accuse the Prime Minister of departure from the traditional economic path, forget how he resisted pressures to scale down the public sector. This emerges in the Seventh Five Year Plan document. Therefore, the hon. President has thrown light on it with full praise. It is a gift to the poor and weaker sections. The Seventh Plan illustrates this 'new thrust' towards their socio-economic development.

In pursuit of this objective, 20 million households are to be provided assistance under the integrated rural development programme during the Sevneth Plan. The target is to bring down the poverty rate from 37 per cent to 26 per cent. That means the number of poor persons is designed to fall from 273 to 211 million.

Now, I shall come to the foreign policy and the tour of our Prime Minister. I may say only someting about the tour of our Prime Minister. Hon. Presidnet hgihlighted the foreign policy and foreign tour of our Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. His crusade for and contribution to the cause of world peace and disarmanent have been recorded for history by no less than Fidel Castro, the only surviving giant among post war revolutionaries, who

hailed our Prime Minister as "The Prince of Peace". Castro's assessment was encored soon afterwards by another leader of a great revolutionary land from the East, Troung Chinh of heroic Vietnam.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, from the U.S. itself also came probably the world's finest tribute in the form of "The Beyond War Award" to our Prime Minister. During the world tour, people showed flowers and offered warm welcome by standing on both sides of the road. The remark of foregin press on front pages regarding his successful tour was that the Prime Minister of India, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, has "come, saw and conquered" the hearts of people of the world.

His NAM mission brought all the three worlds together into the framework of peaceful co-existence. It may succeed in concretising Nehru's grand dream of a cooperative world without war. The fruitful visit of our Prime Minister to Dhaka for the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Conference is a landmark. Its success was, in fact, ensured some months back when he laid the seeds of his good neighbourly policy with his historical airdash to Dhaka after Bangladesh had been torn under a cyclone.

Sir, at the end, I can say about our young Prime Minister that he is a unique personality having the qualities of cultural heritage, the budhistic tradition of the middle path and the Panchsheela and our Gandhian heritage of truth and non-violence.

With these words, I support the Motion of Thanks.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Government's decision to release payment of one Instalment of Additional Dearness Allowance to the Central Government Employees and also an Instalment of Dearness Relief to Pensioners including Family Pensioners with effect from the 1st January, 1986.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before Mr. Khushwant Singh makes his speech, Mr. Poojari will make a statement.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Madhya Pradesh): What is it about, Sir? Sir, this is the third or the fourth time during the last two years that I have had to point out that the House cannot be taken for granted, and the Ministers are not entitled to make any statements without prior information and intimation to the House.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is the announcement of Dearness Allowance.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Dearness Allowance is welcome. But I wish...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I follow the point.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Earlier also I have said that always it would be proper as a courtesy to the House that a small chit be sent to us that the Minister of State would be making a statement in respect of such and such matter at such and such time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is only an announcement.

SHRI JASWNAT SINGH (Rajasthan): It enables the Members to seek clarifications.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It will be taken note of.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI): Sir, with your permission and with the permission of the House, I would like to make the following statement Sir, according to the existing scheme, payment of an instalment of Dearness Allowance to Central Government employees is taken up for considederation after every eight point increase in the 12-monthly average of the All India Average Consumer Price Index for Industrial Workers (base 1960-100). The last instalment of Deaness Allowance was sanctioned on 15.1.1986 with effect from 1.11.1985 with reference to the average index of 600 points. Since then, payment of one more instalment of Dearness Allowance with effect from 1.1.1986 has become due for consideration.

2. Government have now decided to pay this instalment of Dearness Allowance to the Central Government employees in cash. Orders in this behalf will be issued by the Ministry of Finance soon.

3. Along with the payment of Dearness Allowance to the serving Central Government employees, Dearness Relief to pensioners including family pensioners is also